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FOREWORD

This little book will be of great interest to all students of history and particularly to those interested in the history of temples.

Most temples in South India contain numerous inscriptions recording the various benefactions made to the temples and the transactions of the temple authorities, the strength and categories of the temple servants and the method and manner of conducting the daily worship and occasional festivals. But inscriptions alone do not help us in tracing the fortunes of the temples. Other sources like literary works and traditional accounts have also to be utilised for this purpose.

Quite a large number of traditional accounts of individuals, royal families, places of religious importance etc., are available for a serious and painstaking student of history. These accounts, no doubt, contain a large proportion of myths and fables but it is easy to separate the chaff and the residuary facts are very helpful for the building up of correct history. Very often these facts are corroborated by other sources but at times constitute the exclusive source of information. The extracts included in the *Further Sources of Vijayanagara history* are an appropriate example.

Among traditional accounts of temples now available, three are important—the Madalapanji, the Kōil-Ojugu and the Tirumalai-Ojugu. It is too much to expect the sobriety, objectivity and critical approach of the historian on the part of the compilers of these chronicles. Nor is it proper to dismiss these chronicles as totally untrustworthy. It is necessary to look at various historical events, situations and personalities through the eyes of the chroniclers and understand their viewpoint which was essentially religious and institu-

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tional. This helps us to study the relevant and reliable facts against their proper background. These chronicles reflect the hopes and fears, appreciations and denunciations and the joys and sorrows of numerous compilers as inspired by the temporal, personal and circumstantial factors.

It is a matter for gratification that Dr. Hari Rao has devoted scholarly attention to this important chronicle of the famous temple of Srirangam. He has added very useful and critical notes wherever needed and appraised in a praiseworthy manner the authenticity and dependability of the statements contained in the chronicle. He had to cover almost the entire range of South Indian History for purposes of his notes and comments and has shown a commendable knowledge of the main events and personalities of the time. The notes are of great help in forming a correct estimate of the value and utility of this chronicle as a piece of historical source material.

I congratulate Dr. Hari Rao for bringing out this useful publication and commend it to all earnest students of Indian History.

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INTRODUCTION

The Koil Oḷugu is a chronicle of the famous Vaiṣṇava temple at Srirangam. Its main purpose is to record the series of benefactions that Hindu princes and chieftains of different ages have made to the temple. The chronological sequence adopted is not perfect, but some kind of continuity is sought to be maintained by detailed references to the connections of the successive Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas with the Srirangam temple. The connections of these Āchāryas, who occupied the Vaiṣṇava pontifical seat at Srirangam, with the rulers of the land also find mention. Thus the Koil Oḷugu, in tracing an account of the property received by the temple, refers also to its religious and other affairs.

'Oḷugu' means a record or a register and 'Koil' in Vaiṣṇava parlance denotes the Srirangam temple. In the sense of a village register the word 'Oḷugu' is used in an inscription of the first half of the 13th century coming from the Kaṭrapurīvara temple at Tiruvāippāḍi in the Tanjore district. Some pieces of land were admitted to the benefits of the tax-free land of the village (ūrki-iraiyili) and the necessary alterations were ordered to be made in the Oḷugu.¹ Genealogical accounts have been called 'Oḷugus', e.g. the Appan Tirumāḷigai Oḷugu, being an account of the Kundaḷaiyārs of Srirangam. There is also the Tirumalai Oḷugu, dealing largely with the activities of Rāmānuja in Tirupati, interspersed with puranic allusions. (But it is said to be of very recent origin.)*

The Appan Tirumāḷigai Oḷugu² refers to a 'Palakalavan Oḷugu' of the Srirangam temple, which may be interpreted as a record of miscellaneous items; and it is

1. SII. XII No. 233. 2. Cat. Rais. III P. 394.

* Tirumalai Oḷugu (Tamil), Ed. by K. Balasundara Nayakar, T. T. Devasthanams Press, Tirupathi. (1953).

quite likely that what has come to be known as the Kōil Olugu is the same as this Palakalavan Olugu. It was a register maintained by the accountant of the store house of the Srirangam temple of the events and happenings, recorded then and there in his own handwriting, in the presence of four persons. This was kept sealed and was referred to whenever there was any dispute over the customary procedure of, say, the temple ritual or honours. Thus it was a kind of diary kept up by the successive generations of temple accountants. The Olugu itself states that it was written by the Pūrvācāryas, i.e. the Ācāryas of the past. Hence a categorical statement that the Kōil Olugu was a late composition of about the 18th century cannot be taken as altogether justified.¹ It is not improbable that an original and early cadjan existed in the Srirangam temple before the latter suffered during the Orissan and Muhammadan invasions of the medieval period. From the fact that Uḷayavar (Rāmānuja) receives the most exhaustive treatment it may be hazarded that the Olugu was commenced after his death. The comparatively scrappy treatment of the earlier period strengthens this view.

A perusal of the Kōil Olugu shows that the sequence of events adopted is jumbled e.g., the period of the Ācāryas is dealt with after the first Muslim attack on Srirangam. Certain events or names are repeated in a different context; this was perhaps because an accountant recorded certain past events in the diary without enquiring whether the same was recorded or not by a predecessor of his. The jumbled sequence might have been due to the constant resuscitations of the original and the imperfections and shortcomings of the scribes. It is also possible that a scribe while making a copy made his own interpolations. The description of

1. E. I. XXIV P. 91.

Rāmānuja's reorganization of the temple services bears definite internal evidence to show that some passages were added later. The Olugu maintains a fairly correct sequence of events while dealing with the Vijayanagar period and after.

The compilers of the Kōil Olugu, it is clear, have depended mainly upon the numerous inscriptions on the walls and pillars of the Srirangam temple for their material. Some inscriptions are quoted and some are said to have been irretrievably lost. For the religious and other affairs of the temple they have drawn their inspiration from local tradition and the Vaiṣṇava hagiologies.

At first glance one is apt to suspect that the Kōil Olugu is only the Guruparamparai adapted to the Srirangam temple. But actually it is not the case. In an attempt to record the historical events that happened in Srirangam, the Olugu had jotted down notices of both the religious and secular events; and since Srirangam was an important centre of the Vaiṣṇava movement, especially during the days of the Ācāryas, there is much common ground between the Guruparamparai and the Kōil Olugu, say while traversing the period of Rāmānuja. But the Olugu mentions details of a number of political events not known to the Guruparamparai (which, after all, stops with Nampillai); and in some instances like the question of the contemporaneity of Tirumangai Ālvār with Madurakavi Ālvār it breaks its connection with the hagiology, even while recording a professedly well known tradition and appears to be quite independent of it. It gives more details than the Paramparai of events that are closely connected with the Srirangam temple, like the building activities of Tirumangai Ālvār and the organization of the Vaiṣṇava 'darsana' by Nathamuni. Finally, when we pass on to the later stages the Olugu is unique in its narration, though some errors in chronology and sequence have crept in. Thus from the

beginning to the end the Olugu strictly remains a temple record and on no account can it be compared with a conventional hagiology.

The language of the Olugu is supposed to be the familiar 'manipravāḷa' style of the Vaiṣṇava hagiologies. But there is not that literary excellence of this style displayed in, say, a work like the *Āṣayirappaḍi Guruparamparai* of Pin-baḷagiya Perumaḷ Jiyar. There is a large admixture, besides, of the jargon of the Vaiṣṇava temple, a part of it being peculiar to Srīrangam, which makes the Olugu, particularly that portion, which describes Rāmaṇuja's organization of the temple services, i.e., the 'Uḍayavar tiṭṭam,' somewhat unintelligible. Many of the sentences are unmanageably long and deal with a variety of details. Sometimes these are badly constructed and the punctuation marks are few and far between; and sometimes they are left incomplete. All these go to render the meaning of the text obscure. Considerable plodding and disjunction of the words, phrases and clauses of the omnibus sentences was found necessary to understand the meaning of the Olugu and render it into English.

With its many imperfections in sequence, chronology and language the Koil Olugu is still a valuable source-book for a history of the Srīrangam temple. Mr. R. Sewell made a correct guess of the worth of this chronicle when he said "The priests of the (Srīrangam) temple have in their possession a document which ought to be of real value, the mahātmyas of temples being almost invariably an absurd jumble of mythological fables. This is a chronicle called the 'varagu' which is said to give a list of all the priests of the temple, with details of temple management from the earliest times".

1. Lists of Antiquities I P. 268.

The Koil Olugu opens by briefly adverting to the Srīranga Mahātmya; it says how the Srīranga vimānā was given to Vibhīṣaṇa by Rāmā, and how it established itself on the banks of the holy tank of Candrapuṣkarāṇi in Srīrangam, while being removed by the former to Lanka from Ayodhhi. Dharmavarma, a mythical Chola king and contemporary of Dasaratha and Rāmā, raised various walls and towers around the sanctum. These structures, however, were buried in sand as a result of a huge flood in the adjacent Kaveri river. The entire region of the temple was covered over with forests. After a considerable lapse of time one Kīl or Kīlji Chola dreamed of the buried shrine, destroyed the forest, removed the sand, and unearthed the shrine. Once again the various shrines, walls and towers were constructed, and these structures have survived to us. Thus according to the Koil Olugu the resuscitation of the Srīrangam temple was effected by one of the early Chola kings of the Sangam Age, who ruled from Uraiyūr, near Srīrangam.

After dealing with the origin this way the Olugu next passes to the age of the Ālvārs. Among them Tirumangai Ālvār is the most important. He constructed the various buildings of the fourth prakāra, known after him as 'Ālināḍan tiruvidi', and made arrangements for the recitation of the Tiruvāymoḍi. Madurakavi Ālvār is stated to be his contemporary. The connections of Periyālvār and Āḍḍaḷ with the Srīrangam temple are dealt with in a different context. The next important sections deal with the magnificent benefactions of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I to the Srīrangam temple. This narration closely follows Sundara Pandya's long Sanskrit inscription at Srīrangam. The Olugu is quite aware of the Hoysala rule established at Kaṇṇanūr, near Srīrangam, in the first half of the 13th century. Among the list of benefactors figure the Hoysala

kings Narasimha and Rāmanātha and Hoysala chieftains like Cingana Daṇḍanāyakkā, Kambuya Daṇḍanāyakkā and Kariyamāṇikka Daṇḍanāyakkā.

After dealing with a number of minor benefactors, among whom figure a few unidentifiable Chola names, the Olugu proceeds to deal with the Muhammadan invasions of 1311 and 1323 A.D. at some length. The second invasion is given a separate treatment in a different context. There is some confusion in the Olugu's treatment of the two invasions and details of the one are mixed with those of the other. As a result of the invasion of 1311 A.D. the image was removed from the temple, and after considerable wandering was safely deposited in a forest glen at the foot of the Tirupati hills. In Srirangam a fresh image was installed and worship carried on as usual. As a result of the second invasion this image was removed from the temple and finally housed in the shrine of Sri Venkatesa on the Tirupati hills. Both these images - the original as well as the substitute - were perhaps removed from Tirupati to Srirangam by the early Vijayanagar chieftains.

Between the accounts of the first and the second Muhammadan invasions the Olugu interposes a recital of the connections of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas with Srirangam. Nāthamuni's activities in the direction of a codification of the temple rules and ritual as also a systematisation of the Prabandha recitations are dealt with in great detail. After briefly dealing with Uyyakoṇḍār, Maṇakkāl Nambi and Āḷavandār the Olugu takes up Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja's connections with Srirangam are given an exhaustive treatment. The most instructive portion is that which treats with his reforms in the temple, the foremost of them being a thorough reorganization of the various groups of temple servants. The administration of the temple was improved and purified in many a respect. A five-fold division of the temple servants was

expanded into a tenfold division and the duties of each group were specified. A lengthy account follows in which these duties are described elaborately and to the minutest detail in the peculiar temple jargon. To a person intimately connected with the temple ritual and custom this is undoubtedly the most interesting part of the entire chronicle.

The following are the chief acts of reform and reorganization of the Srirangam temple associated with Uḍayavar (Rāmānuja): (1) the appointment of Akalanga Nattāṭṭar (perhaps a Chola feudatory), who became his disciple, to inquire into the income from the temple lands, (2) the renovation of the Dhanvantri shrine, which had gone out of use, and the appointment of his disciple Garuḍavāhana Pandita for its management, (3) removal of all the Vaikhanasa priests from the temple and the establishment, on firm lines, of the system of worship described in the Paramasvara samhita of the Pāncarātra ṅgama, (4) inquiry into the state of accounts and the exercise of authority under the seals of Garuḍa, the Discus and the Conch, (5) a complete reorganization of the temple servants and services by which a five-fold group was expanded into a tenfold one and laying down the duties of each to the minutest detail, (6) reform in the procedure of the conduct of the annual adyayanotsava and the installation of Nammāḷvar in the temple, (7) installation of the images of the Āḷvars, Āṇḍāl and Nāthamuni, and (8) the institution of a huge cattleshed in Solan-ganallūr for the supply of milk to the temple and the installation of the image of Krishna therein as also a small gōsālā in the immediate vicinity of the temple.

Accounts of Bhaṭṭar and Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar, the first of the line of the Sriranganārāyaṇa Jiyars of Srirangam, and their services to the Srirangam temple follow the account of Rāmānuja. Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar is said to have installed

a number of minor deities in the different prakāras of the temple.

The second Muhammadan invasion and occupation of Kaṇṇanūr and Srirangam and the restoration of the Srirangam temple that was effected by the early Vijayanagar chieftains in the latter half of the 14th century are next dealt with. The benefactions of Gopāṇa Uḍayār and others are detailed. From this stage the Olugu details the activities of the Uttamanambis, who, as wardens of the Srirangam temple, rose to prominence and maintained a close connection with the Vijayanagar court. Valiyaḍimai-nilaiyitta Uttamanambi and his brother Cakrarāya appear to be the most important of this family of wardens. The benefactions of many of the kings, princes and chieftains of the Vijayanagar dynasties to the Srirangam temple are next dealt with. A section is devoted to Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni or Periya Jiyar, and his stay and activities in Srirangam. Many damages suffered by the temple as a result of the Muhammadan invasion and occupation ('tulukka vāṇam') were repaired by successive benefactors. The next important sections deal with the connections of the Nāyaks of Madura with the Srirangam temple. The Nāyaks ruled largely from Trichinopoly and adopted the Vādūladāsikas of Srirangam as their religious preceptors. Under their guidance they made a series of donations to the temple.

After the Nāyaks the kingdom passed under the control of the Nawabs of Arcot. Their quarrels with the Mahrattas and the Nizam of the Deccan are briefly referred to in the Olugu. In the Carnatic wars the Srirangam temple was converted into a fortress by the contending parties. In A.D. 1801, the Carnatic passed under the control of the English East India Company, and a collector by name John Wallace was sent to take charge of the Trichinopoly district in August of that year. The Köil Olugu ends with the section dealing

with the decision of John Wallace that the temple was Tenkalai and not Vaḍakalai. The last sentences are significant, viz., "This is the account of affairs up to the month of Alppasi of S. 1725, Rutrōtkāri. Velappa Mudaliar brought to the notice of Wallace all the Olugus in the town and at the desire of the latter had the Olugus rewritten along with the events upto the days of Wallace and placed a copy of the same bearing the seal of the five (stalattārs), in the 'terku kallarai' (southern store room) of the temple."

The Olugu was briefly noticed by Hultzsch and Venkayya in Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Indica* (P. 322); and a critical examination of the printed portion was attempted by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Vol. XL of the *Indian Antiquary* (Pp. 131-144). There are two extant editions of the Köil-Olugu (the Umapati Guruprakasam Press edition and the Ananda Press edition, both published in 1909). The two seem to have relied on different texts and so they differ in many respects. The latter describes the temple kainkaryas at length while the former omits them altogether; and there is much discrepancy in the sequence of events. Both end abruptly. Happily a cadjan manuscript of the Olugu, belonging to the Srirangam temple, and a paper manuscript of its final portions were available in Srirangam, and it was possible not only to compare the printed editions with the manuscript but also to get the whole of the Olugu tracing the events at Srirangam right upto 1803. The Ananda Press edition largely follows the temple manuscript. Many errors in the former both of text and sequence, particularly in the description of the kainkaryas, were rectified with reference to the latter.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARE. Annual Report on Epigraphy (formerly of the Govt. of Madras).

Cat. Rais. Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts (Mackenzie Collection).

EC. Epigraphia Carnataca.

EI. Epigraphia Indica.

JBRRAS. Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

SII. South Indian Inscriptions.

KŌIL - OLUGU

"The street full of storied houses, the street of the prosperous Trivikrama,

The street of the Pandya Akajanga, skilled in dance, the street where Aīnādan dwells,

The street of Kulasākhara of Madura, the street of Rajamahendra of noble descent, and

The street of the rare Dharmavarma—these are the seven prakaras that surround the God at Arangam of the South."

Thus have the ancients sung in joy of the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam and below are given the details of the sacred services they have rendered to the temple.

Brahma of yore obtained the vimāna² of the Srirangam temple and worshipped it in Satyaloka for many years. Ishvaku came into possession of it and after worshipping it in Ayodhya, for a long time, passed it on to his descendents, until in the end, Rāma, out of his munificence, gave it to Vibhishanu, who, bearing it on his head, deposited it on the

1. This anonymous stanza enumerates the names of the seven prakaras, beginning with the outermost and passing on to the interior, calling them each in turn after its builder, excepting the last prakara,—the Chitra street, which is simply termed 'the street full of storied houses.' Akajangan is an epithet attached to Vikrama Chola. He is wrongly called a Pandya, here. 2. The turret over the sanctum of a temple. Here, however, it refers to the sanctum with the image and turret above.

banks of the Chandrapuṣkarāṇi, between the two Kāvēri rivers. Later on Dharmavarma obtained it. ^{1.} [*amudu parai*]

THE BENEFACTIONS OF DHARMAVARMA

These include the construction of the gateway, the sanctum, the amudu mandapa; ² the tiruvuṇṇāli, ³ the wall of the sanctum, the procession path, many mandapas like the Aḷagiyamanavaḷan ⁴ tirumandapa, various walls and towers, the shrine of Senai Mudaliar ⁵ and its vimānā, the installation of Tirukkōpurattu Nainār ⁶ over the northern gateway of the second wall to the north-west of that shrine, and the building of the 'Audience Chamber' on the banks of the Chandrapuṣkarāṇi.

1. The summary manner in which the legendary origin of the Sriranga vimānā is dealt with by the Olugu is an example of its terse narration. The elaborate version of the Sriranga Mahātmya is found in the Garuḍa Purāṇa, and is known as the satādyāyi (108 chapters). The more condensed version, the dasādyāyi (10 chapters) is found in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. References to it are also to be found in the Pādma and the Matsya Purāṇas and also in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. The gist of the Mahātmya is that the image of Sri Ranganātha of Srirangam is one of the eight *svayamvyakta* idols, that it was gifted by Rāmā to Vibhishana, when the former performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice at Ayodhya, and that the sanctum with the image got itself fixed to the ground at Srirangam, where Vibhishana halted for rest while on his way back to Lanka bearing it on his head. 2. The place where 'amudu' or the rice-offering is deposited, also known as 'amudu-pārai'. 3. This is the narrow prakāra immediately surrounding the sanctum. 4. The name of the procession image of the Srirangam temple. 5. Viṣvaksēna, the divine controller of Viṣṇu's households. 6. The guardian deity of the tower over the gateway.

THE BENEFACTIONS OF KĪLI CHŌLA

After a considerable lapse of time, the Kāvēri buried the shrine, up to its pinnacle in sand, and the temple came to be hidden amidst dense forests. At this period it came to pass that, when a Chola, in the line of Dharmavarma, was resting beneath a tree in this wood, a parrot from that tree recited the following slokas:

'Kāvēri Vraja seyam Vaikuntam Rangamandiram
Sa Vāsudevo Rangēśa pratyaksham Paramam padam
Vimānam pranaṅkāram Vēdaśrunga mahādbudam
Srirangasāyi bhagavān prapavārtha prakāśakaha.'

('The river Kāvēri is the same as the river Vraja in Vaikunta, the Srirangam temple is Vaikunta itself, the Lord of Arangam is none but Vāsudeva. God's eternal abode is here, perceptibly.

The vimānā is in the form of the Praṇava (OM), its four towers are marvellously like the four Vēdas and Sri Ranganāthi is expounding the import of the Praṇava.')'

The Chola was surprised on hearing these repeated several times and he was struck with wonder at the parrot reciting lines from the puranas. His inquiries leading to no positive result, the king decided to construct anew the Sriranga vimānā and began laying foundations towards the west of that tree, in Tirumuṇṇikūrai. When the structure rose to a small height God appeared to him in his dream and pointed out His abode under a certain tree. The king was immensely pleased on finding the vimānā in the place revealed. Then, he cleared the forest, removed the sand, constructed all the essential parts of the temple, including the sanctuary, the vimānā, the various streets, the old prakāras and the banks of the southern and the northern rivers, laid out many flower gardens, instituted the temple

services and forms of worship and made the shrine renowned as Tiruvarangam Tiruppati.*

THE BENEFACTIONS OF RĀJAMAHENDRA CHŌLA

After this, Rājahendra, on finding that, annually, floods in the Kaveri gave rise to springs inside the sanctum, stopped the percolation (by relaying the pavement). He laid the flooring of the abode of Tiruvanandaivān (Ādisāṣa), which he raised above the level of the pavement of the shrines of Nārāyana, Nābinaḷina, Nāgasayana, and Nāra-simha, who surround the sanctum, fixed the pillars and built the walls of the second enclosure, the tower of the southern gateway and the gateway in the north. Excepting the shrines of Senai Mudaliar and Tirukkōpura Nainār, which were the works of Dharmavarma, the rest of the gopuras and floorings were those of Rājahendra. The Rājahendran street is called after him.†

* By interposing a flood and a sandstorm the chronicler passes from the age of Rama and the mythical Dharmavarma to the age of the Cholas. †The name Kilī Chola is familiar to many odes in the Sangam works. Arangam is referred to in an ode of the *Ahanamuru* (No. 137) and in the *Silappadikaram* (Canto XI, ll. 35-40).

† Rājahendra Chola was the son of Rājendra II and grandson of Rājendra I. His inscriptions and the Kaḷing-attupparaṇi show that he was carrying on the administration of the country when his father and uncle (Rajadhiraja I) were engaged in distant wars with the Chalukyas of Kalyani. He predeceased his father and hence could not rule as king. His inscriptions range over the period 1060-63 A.D. The Vikramasolan Ula of Ottakkūttan says that Rājahendra made for the god at Srirangam a serpent couch set with several diamonds.

THE BENEFACTIONS OF NANDA CHŌLA

Nanda Chola, who was a descendent of Dharmavarma, ruling from Niṣṭāpuri (Uraiyūr) remained childless for a long time. He fervently worshipped Sri Ranganāyaka and prayed for a child. As an effect of his penance, one day, he found a female child on a lotus, in a lotus pond. The king, with great pleasure, took the baby home and gave her the name of Kamalavalli. In course of time the child grew to be a fair maiden. One day, when she was resting on a flower bed in her sporting garden along with her maids and playmates Sri Rangarāja, who was riding to Palāṣa Tirtham¹ for hunting, passed by, and appeared in great beauty, in His Vibhava manifestation.² Kamalavalli, on seeing Him, was lost in intense love for Him and she was brought back to herself by her friends after great efforts of heartening and encouragement. In her street she behaved as if she were mad but her father knew it was love-sickness. On his inquiring who her lover was she revealed that he was none but Sri Rangarāja and requested that she be married to Him. The king was much pleased and after consulting his ministers, celebrated the marriage of his daughter, Kamalavalli, with Sri Rangarāja, with much grandeur. When the bride was sent to Srirangam, the king sent along with her, as dowry, 360 kalams of golden rice, with its concomitant dal, vegetable and other curry stuffs along with plates and containers, made of gold and also a hundred servant maids. On entering the sanctum of the temple, Kamalavalli disappeared (and became one with God). The king was extremely delighted at this and as he once again became childless, made over his entire property to the God

1. One of the eight tirthas that surround the Pandrapuṣkarāṇi. 2. Manifestation of God in human form.

and built for the temple many presence-chambers of Viṣṇu, various walls and towers etc., and laid out many flower gardens. He also installed in his city of Uraiyūr the images of his daughter and 'Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ', so called because he was able to attract through His beautiful form, built elaborately the Vimāna, towers, mandapas, prakāras etc., and celebrated for the divine couple all the festivities.¹

After a long time had passed in the Kaliyuga, the city of Uraiyūr was drowned in a sandstorm, as an effect of the evil doings of a Chola. From that time the Chola monarchs lived in Gangaikondan. In course of time, a Chola gradually built a temple in Uraiyūr and installed therein the images of the Perumal and the Nacciyar. The Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Rājamahēndran street is so called from the day of the marriage of Kamalavalli.

THE BENEFACTIONS OF KULASĒKHARA PERUMĀḶ

After fifty years had passed in the Kali era, Kulasēkhara Perumāḷ became the lord of the Cēra, Chōla and Pāndya kingdoms, built palaces in the cities of Uraiyūr, Madura and Kolli and ruled from them.*

He married his daughter Chōlavalli (an incarnation of Nīḷādevi) to Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ and gave away all his wealth to the Perumāḷ as dowry. He built the Senaiyenrān tirumandapa in the south-west of the third prakara, which he reconstructed. That street was called Kulasēkharan tiruvīdi after him.

1. This account of the origin of the Uraiyūr temple is elaborately described in the 'Lakṣmi Kāvya' by Tirumalai Nātha Uttamanambi. This is a romantic poem in Sanskrit in 18 sargas. (The date of the author is 1434 A.D. EI. XVIII. P. 138 ff). Nanda Chola, no doubt, is a mythical king.

* This refers to Kulasēkhara Āḷvār, who was originally a Cēra ruler according to the Vaiṣṇava tradition.

THE ĀRYABHATTĀ GATEWAY

After 3260 years had passed in the Kali era, the lord of Gauda-dēsa came with a considerable army and huge treasure, equal to his own weight.*

When he offered the latter to the Perumāḷ it was refused, and, consequently it lay outside, for a long time. The king, however, returned after appointing some of his men, who were the brahmins of Ārya-dēsa, to keep watch at the temple and guard the treasure. As these brahmins pleased the Perumāḷ by their behaviour the God looked at them in joy, opened His sacred mouth and spoke to them. For their sake He favoured their lord, also with His saving grace.[†] Whenever He started out for procession and reached the third gateway, He broke His silent attitude (arcāvatāra maryādai) and addressed them thus: "Those who received the gracious commandment (aruḷappāḍu) from the mouth of Tiruvarangaṣaṇār of the golden temple," and for their sake, the lord of Gauda-dēsa, of their class, with the words: "He who received the gracious commandment from the golden temple." From that time that gateway goes by the name of 'Āryabhataḷ vaṣal'.[†]

* This date equals A.D. 159. This of course is unreliable.

1. The same incident is narrated in greater detail in the temple cadjan wherein it is stated that the Ārya brahmins requested the Perumal for a service in the temple as a result of which they were entrusted with the temple watch.

† The earliest mention of Āryabhataḷ occurs in an inscription dated in the 39th year of Kulottunga I, Chola (1109 A.D.) ARE. 14 of 1936-37. See also ARE 1928-29, Pt. II, Para 36). An inscription of Maravarman Sundara Pāndya I, dated 1225 A.D. specifically mentions Āriyar among the various temple servants. (ARE. 53 of 1892).

THE GLORY OF TIRUMANGAI ĀLVĀR

After 445 years had passed in the Kali era Tirumangai Ālvār made the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam his daily abode, where he was writing his prabandas like the Tirumōḷi and doing other sacred services to God.*

One day the Perumāḷ asked Tiruviḷakkupichan, whom he had favoured by hearing him daily, for news.†

Pichan told Him that Tirumangaimannan, who wanted to praise God through a prabanda, was praising himself. The Perumāḷ, on hearing this, commanded Pichan not to think of Tirumangaimannan in that manner, and continued to show beneficent grace towards that Ālvār. At this time Madurakavi Ālvār installed the image of Saṭakōpan (Nammālvār) in Tirunagari, triumphed over Kamban¹ on the

* Tirumangai Ālvār lived in the 8th century. He is usually regarded as the last of the Ālvārs. The Kafi dates given in the Olugu cannot be relied upon.

† Tiruviḷakku-pichan was the lamp-lighter. The Guruparamparai says that he was also a jester to God Ranganatha. See Periyavācān Pillai's commentary on Tirumangai Ālvār's Periya Tirumōḷi (stanza 3.4-10).

1. This foot-note is given in the text: The president of the (Madura Tamil) Sangam dedicated the following verses in honour of Nammālvār:

"Can a fly play before the kite? what is a glow-worm before the sun?

Can a dog run before a growling tiger? can a fox be sauntering before a lion?

Can you compare an (ugly) demon with the beautiful Urvasi? Can any poet's work

Compare itself with one sweet word of the thousand sacred verses in Tamil, of Nammālvār, who has attained the feet of God?"

* 'Sangam plank' through the writing of that Ālvār, and was celebrating various festivities for Him.*

He was also going over to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam often, to investigate into the affairs of the temple. On a grand Kārtigai festival, when the Perumāḷ and His two consorts were bathed and dressed fittingly for the occasion Tirumangai Ālvār recited the six prabandas of the Tiruneṇḍāṇḍagam in the presence of God and so infused it with divine melody and combined it with gesticulations that the Perumāḷ was entirely pleased with him. The God, with the intention of bestowing upon the Ālvār all honours asked him "What can we do for you?" to which Tirumangaimannan replied, "My lord, after you have thought about me—a poor householder and your humble servant—in this manner, I lack nothing. Yet, I appeal to you to hear the Tiruvāimōḷi, the word of Saṭakōpan recited (by me) along with the Vēdas, on the ākāḍasi day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaḷi¹ during the Adyayanōtsava² and graciously assign to it a place of equality with

* Madurakavi Ālvār was the celebrated devotee as well as disciple of Nammālvār.

According to the Guruparamparai, Madurakavi defeated in dispute the students of the Madura Tamil Sangam, who challenged the birudas of Nammālvār. Kamban, of course, came much later and hence could not have been the contemporary of Madurakavi Ālvār.

1. Note in the text: This story can be had in detail in the pamphlet 'Kaliyan aruḷpādu.' 2. Festival in Viṣṇu temples during which are chanted the Divyaprabandas and Vēḷu hymns for ten days (Pagalpattu) before and ten days after (Irappattu) Vaikunta ākāḍasi. This Adyayanōtsava is the most imposing of all religious ceremonies in the Srirangam temple. Some of the verses are not only chanted but also dramatised.

the Vēdas." The Perumāḷ was much delighted and immediately granted to the Tiruvāimoḷi of Saṭakōpan a place of equality with the Vēdas. He then sent the divine communication (to Nammāḷvār) which read: 'We will be pleased to hear the Tiruvāimoḷi recited along with the Vēdas during the Adyāyanotsava', along with many prizes of honour, with the taḷaiyiduvān (a temple servant). He also commanded the pariṇas (the temple retinue) thus: "As this warrior saint (Kaliyan) has sung continuously, in divine melody, his throat is aching. Smear the oil left after Our use, this day, on his neck." The servants did so. Thus blessed, Tirumangaimannan left for his abode. On hearing that the taḷaiyiduvān was bringing the divine communication and the divine favours, Saṭakōpan (i.e., his image) started with Madurakaviḡaḷ, welcomed the servant and invested Himself with those honours. Bearing the God's billet on His head He hospitably received the taḷaiyiduvān. He left Tirunagari the next day and reached Kōil¹ on the Sukladaśami of the month of Mārgasirṣa. On hearing of His arrival, Tirumangaimannan welcomed the Ālvār and rendered his obeisance to Him. Then he took Him along with Madurakaviḡaḷ to the presence of Periyā Perumāḷ.² The Perumāḷ favoured the Ālvār with His benign look, gave Him the name of Nammāḷvār (Our Ālvār), favoured Him with many insignia of honour, and ordained that the Ālvār be housed in the shrine of Tirukkuraḷappan (which was serving the purposes of the sandyāmadam).³ Accordingly Tirumangaimannan and Madurakaviḡaḷ made

1. Srirangam—the temple par excellence. Just as 'Koil' means Cidambaram to the Saivites, it means Srirangam to the Vaiṣṇavites. 2. This is the name of the sanctum image in the Srirangam temple (the mortar image of the reclining Ranganatha). 3. Stone building wherein religious rites are performed. Tirukkuraḷappan refers to Viṣṇu in his Vāmana—Trivikrama manifestation.

the divine presence of Tirukkuraḷappan the abode of the Ālvār and His retinue. With the next dawn began the Adyāyanotsava and the Vēdas beginning with the Praṇava were recited. That night when the Ālvār presented Himself in the Aḷagiy-isaṇavaḷan tirumandapa, the Perumāḷ announced that the former would recite the Tiruvāimoḷi and thus rendered to Him 'aruḷappāḡu' and other honours. Madurakaviḡaḷ, representing the Ālvār began the recitation of the Tiruvāimoḷi, in divine melody, illustrating it with gestures. On the night of the tenth day, the recitation of the Tiruvāimoḷi was closed, after the Vedic recitations were over. Following the previous example of the Ālvār, Madurakaviḡaḷ prostrated himself at the feet of the Perumāḷ when he finished the recitation. The Perumāḷ honoured the Ālvār by sharing His own seat with Him. Favoured Him with garlands, prasādam, kastūri and tiruman and gave Him permission to return to Tirunagari with His gifts and presents. Nammāḷvār started with Madurakaviḡaḷ and reached Tirunagari followed by Tirumangaimannan. Every year the celebrations were thus conducted. As he was specially favoured by the divine grace, Tirumangaimannan decided to perform the six-fold temple services.² In the north-west of the Rājamahēndran enclosure he built a hundred-pillared hall and arranged for the annual celebration of the Adyāyanotsava therein. He also constructed the wall surrounding the Kulasekharan enclosure, the towers over the gateways to its south and west, the mandapa and the procession path in the south-western corner and the big kitchen in the south-eastern corner of that enclosure, the

1. The divine commandment or the word of God addressed to the most devoted of His servants through the mouth of the arcaka—a special honour shown by the Perumāḷ to His devotees. 2. The construction of mandapas, gopuras, prākāras, etc.

wall surrounding the fourth enclosure and the southern and the northern gopuras in that enclosure. As Eduttakai Alagiyasinga Nainār¹ had made the northern gopura His abode he built a coping structure and a pinnacled tower for His shrine. Tirumangaimannan spared the flower garden of Tonḍaraḍippoḍi Ālvār (to the east of the above mentioned gopura and on the banks of the Candrapuṣkarāṇi) from being run over by the temple wall by making a slight deviation. The Ālvār was considerably delighted over this, and out of gratitude, gave the sickle in his hand the name of 'Arulmāri' (a title of Tirumangaimannan), which act highly pleased the builder.² He also built the store-house in the south-west of the fourth enclosure, a granary to its north, and a huge procession path extending from the south to the north of that enclosure.

Once when the Perumāḷ was unable to enjoy the annual ceremonial bath He graciously commanded His retinue to have the abhiṣēkam celebrated for Tirumangaimannan himself. The order was obeyed. From that time the hero of that festival is Tirumangaimannan himself. The latter built the procession path beginning from the banks of the Candrapuṣkarāṇi and extending into the beautiful open-space (veliyalagiyān) and undertook its flooring also. The Alinḍan street is known after him.³ One early morning, while Tirumangaimannan was proceeding to bathe in the northern Kāvēri (Coleroon) he saw a cremated child taking

1. God Narasimha with His hand uplifted. 2. After this the printed editions repeat the incident of the marriage of Uraiyūr-valli, the daughter of the Chola with Alagiyamaṇavaḷan. This repetition, however, does not occur in the temple manuscript. 3. The temple manuscript continues to relate what follows. The same in a briefer form is mentioned separately in the printed books under the caption 'the benefactions of Tirumangaimannan'.

shape once again. The corpse had been cremated there by an old woman who could not cross over to the burning ghat on the other side of the river, owing to heavy floods. On seeing this the Ālvār realised the sanctity of the place. After Kall 480 Tirumangai Ālvār built the Dasāvatāra temple and consecrated it. He also made a sanctum and a processional image of himself and consecrated them. After depositing money in the temple treasury he obtained for himself a small portion of land to its north and named it 'Paḍiyavaḷan-turai' (the ghat of the swordsman-singer). He also obtained the boon from the Perumāḷ that men cremated there should reach heaven and that it should be devoid of all pollution. This is known by the name of 'Tirumangaimannan's ghat.'

THE BENEFACTION OF CHOLENDRASIMHAN

The tirumandapa to the east of the Candrapuṣkarāṇi, in that enclosure, is the work of Cholendrasimhan.

THE BENEFACTION OF GANGAIDĒVAR SINGANAN DANDANĀYAKKAR

Gangaidavar Singanan Daḍḍanāyakkar, as the agent of Nāṭapa Cakravarti built the hospital (Ārogyasāla) and the procession path.*

* An inscription of Hoysala Ramanatha, at Srirangam, dated in his third regnal year (1257 A.D.) records the foundation of a salai (Ārogyasāla) in the fourth prakara of the temple. The donor was Chingadeva Singana Daḍḍanāyaka, a pradhani of Vira Rāmanātha. The salai was entrusted to Garuḍavāhana Pandita. (ARE 80 of 1936-37; EI. XXIV P. 90). Taking advantage of the decline of the Cholas the Hoysalas had established themselves in power at Kappanūr (Vikramapuri). Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I captured Kappanur from the Hoysalas. An inscription from Srirangam of this Pandya refers to the defeat of the

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF VIKRAMA CHOLA ALIAS AKALANGAN

The wall of the fifth enclosure, surrounding the above, and the four towers therein, the gateway, a cowshed in the north-east, a shrine for Krishna there, and His installation therein, a shrine with vimānā in the south-west and the installation of Rama therein, the Nācciyār temple in the north-west, (the installation) of Garudālvār in the Periyatirumandapa of the Ālinādan enclosure, the laying of the flooring and the verandah in that mandapa—these were the benefactions of Vikrama Chola alias Akalangan.*

CHOLA'S INSTALLATIONS

The Chola installed the image of the Perumāḷ, who has, as His vehicle, Garuda (the divine bird), the Perumāḷ, who guards the various mandapas, Aḷagiyasingar, in the west, Adikesava Perumāḷ and Panriyālvān.†

Hoysala general Singhana and says that he was given over to a rutting elephant on the field of battle. (ARE 60 of 1892; SI, IV 507).

* Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1120-1133) was a devotee of Nataraja of Cidambaram. Several of his inscriptions describe his additions to the Cidambaram temple and his rich gifts to it. The Srirangam temple contains an inscription of Vikrama Chola, dated in his 16th year (1136 A.D.), a high regnal year not met with in other inscription, of his. (ARE 33 of 1936-37; pt. II, Para 71). This inscription may be taken to provide epigraphical confirmation of the connection of Vikrama Chola with Srirangam mentioned by the Olugu. It may also be noted that Vikrama Chola Caturvēdimangalam, a part of the Colony called Kaliyugarāman Caturvēdimangalam, near Srirangam, is mentioned in a few inscriptions of the later Pandyas in the Srirangam temple. (ARE 42, 43, 44 and 47 of 1936-37).

† Cholendrasimhan and the Chola mentioned here cannot be identified. The former was probably a Chola chieftain.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF SUNDARA PANDYADEVA

Sundara Pandya defeated the Cāra, the Choḷa, Vallān devan (Ballāḷadeva) and others, adopted the biruda 'the Perumāḷ, who conquered all countries', and with the spoils of victory built the four outer enclosures beginning with the Rajamahāndran street and twenty four tulāpuruṣa mandapas. He performed the 'elephant tulāpuruṣa ceremony' thus. In a ghat formed by the backwaters of the river Kaveri he floated two boats of equal weight, in one of which, he, with all his armour sat upon his state-elephant, which was seven 'carpenter's cubits' high¹ and in the other poured gold, pearls, gems, etc., till it sank to the same level as the other. Over and above this he sent for a large treasure and made various gifts and charities according to the 'kalpa'.² He also wanted to utilise that treasure for temple services, but the God (with His retinues) had not the desire of accepting it and the treasure was detained for two years. Afterwards when the Perumāḷ was pleased at his eagerness to serve Him and his righteous following, the property was lodged in the treasury and with its help were done the following 'sacred services' or kainkaryas: He raised the wall of the gateway of the sanctum throughout. Previously there was depression between the gateway of the sanctum and the Aḷagiyamanavaḷan tirumandapa (a benefaction of Dharmavarma). There were steps running down from the gateway of the sanctum but the link with the tirumandapa had disappeared and hence there was a gap. Now this gap was closed by filling up the depression to the level of the tirumandapa. The floor was newly paved with slabs. Steps were constructed both in the east

1. One 'carpenter's cubit' measures 33" according to the Tamil Lexicon. 2. A vedanga expounding the rules relating to gifts and benefactions.

plates, porringers, stools, standing temple-lamps, bathing vessels and pots were offered. To celebrate the festival of the Chittirai tirunāl, which went by his name, he dug a huge spring (tank) in the Kāvēri and filled it with river water. Nearby he erected a pandal ornamented with pearls and red-corals. In that tank he floated a boat made of gold and made arrangements for the celebration of the floating festival for the Perumāḷ and His Nāccimār. On this occasion he fed a number of devotees. He offered to the God on a single day, 360 kalams of rice and the appropriate vegetable¹ and other curry stuffs. The celebration of the car festival in the north māda street² became his sacred service. He covered the beautiful figures in the front of the car up to the lion-throne with gold plates. He had the divine vehicles of Garudālvār, the horse and the elephant made in gold and built a golden car in the Senaivenrān enclosure. Thus the benefactions of Sundara Pāndyadeva, who conquered all countries and covered the temple with gold, came up to eighteen lakhs of gold pieces towards miscellaneous items and another eighteen lakhs towards the covering of the temple with gold.*

1. Specified as ten kinds of greens growing from five kinds of plants and five kinds of creepers. 2. This is the original Pillai Lokācāryar street in the Veḷittirumuttam, which was outside the temple, to its east. This street, running in a east to west direction, originally extended itself into the temple. Now, this street is blocked, the gap in the prakara wall having been closed in later days.

* An inscription of 30 verses in the Srirangam temple is the most important as well as the longest of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I (ARE 45 of 1891; EI III. pp. 7 & ff.). This describes the Pandya's building activities at and gifts to the temple. He built shrines for Narasimha and Viṣvaksena and covered them with gold. He covered the Vimana of the Ranganatha

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A four-pillared mandapa, to the east of the Perumāḷdevan mandapa with the images of Rāma, Lakshmana, Sugriva, and Hanumān carved on its four pillars is the benefaction of Kulottunga Chōla.*

... with gold and in commemoration of this achievement assumed the title 'Hemacchādana Rāja' (i.e., 'the king who covered the temple with gold'). He installed in the shrine a golden image of Viṣṇu, which he called 'Hemacchādana-Vara-Hari' after his own surname. He built an amudumandapa and equipped it with gold vessels. For the 'festival of the god's sporting with Lakshmi,' he built a golden ship, gifted to Sri Ranganatha a garland of emeralds (verse 13 mentions another surname, viz., Marakata-Prithvibhrit, i.e., 'emerald king'), a crown of jewels, a golden image of another of Garuda, a canopy of pearls, a golden car, a golden trough, many ornaments including a golden throne. He performed several tulābhāras. Verse 27 declares: "repeatedly performing the ascending of the scales on every day at the shrine of the Lord of Ranga, the Sun among kings would have doubtless broken up Meru for the sake of gold, and not borne the emblem of fish." Another inscription of the Pandya, mentioned above, (i.e., 60 of 1892; SII. IV. 10) also mentions a few of his gifts to the temple.

* This most probably refers to Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.), whose patronage of the Srirangam temple is proved by two inscriptions of his in the temple (ARE 61 of 1892; SII. IV. 508 and 62 of 1892; SII. III. 70). There is no epigraphical evidence to show that Kulottunga II (1133-1150 A.D.) patronised the Srirangam temple. According to the Kulottunga-Solan-Ula of Ottakootar, he removed the image of Viṣṇu from the courtyard of the Cidambaram temple.

plates, porringers, stools, standing temple-lamps, bathing vessels and pots were offered. To celebrate the festival of the Chittirai tirunāl, which went by his name, he dug a huge spring (tank) in the Kāvēri and filled it with river water. Nearby he erected a pandal ornamented with pearls and red-corals. In that tank he floated a boat made of gold and made arrangements for the celebration of the floating festival for the Perumāḷ and His Nāccimār. On this occasion he fed a number of devotees. He offered to the God on a single day, 360 kalams of rice and the appropriate vegetable¹ and other curry stuffs. The celebration of the car festival in the north māda street² became his sacred service. He covered the beautiful figures in the front of the car up to the lion-throne with gold plates. He had the divine vehicles of Garudāḷvār, the horse and the elephant made in gold and built a golden car in the Sēnaivenrān enclosure. Thus the benefactions of Sundara Pāndyaḍēva, who conquered all countries and covered the temple with gold, came up to eighteen lakhs of gold pieces towards miscellaneous items and another eighteen lakhs towards the covering of the temple with gold.*

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A four-pillared mandapa, to the east of the Perumāḷdēvan mandapa with the images of Rāma, Lakshmana, Sugriva, and Hanumān carved on its four pillars is the benefaction of Kulōttunga Chōḷa.*

He adorned the shrine with gold and in commemoration of this achievement assumed the title 'Hemācchādana Rāja' (i.e., 'the king who covered the temple with gold'). He installed in the shrine a golden image of Viṣṇu, which he called 'Hemācchādana-Rāja-Hari' after his own surname. He built an amudumandapa and equipped it with gold vessels. For the 'festival of the god's sporting with Lakshmi,' he built a golden ship. He gifted to Sri Ranganatha a garland of emeralds (verse 13 mentions another surname, viz., Marakata-Prithvibhrit, i.e., 'emerald king'), a crown of jewels, a golden image of the god, another of Garuda, a canopy of pearls, a golden car, a golden trough, many ornaments including a golden throne. He performed several tulābhāras. Verse 27 declares: 'Repeatedly performing the ascending of the scales on every day at the shrine of the Lord of Ranga, the Sun among kings would have doubtless broken up Meru for the sake of gold, but not borne the emblem of fish.' Another inscription of the Pāndya, mentioned above, (i.e., 60 of 1892; SII. IV. 10) also mentions a few of his gifts to the temple.

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THE BENEFACCTIONS OF KAMBAYAR DAṆḌANĀYAKKAR

The shrine of Paravāsudēvar in the north-western of the Ālināḍan enclosure, the temple of Sudarśana Pe in the west of the Akalangan enclosure, the mandapa Nācciyar shrine, the thousand-pillared mandapa in the enclosure, a roofed verandah in the north-east, built site of the cow-shed, the temple of Lakṣminārāyaṇa Per an elevated mandapa to the south of His shrine, the verandah of Dēvarāja, the verandah in the stables of state-elephant and the horses, the descending steps and cornices (details within the thousand-pillared mandapa these are the benefactions of Kambaya Daṇḍanāyakkar chief minister of Pratāpa Chakravarti Rāmanāthadēva.

The four-pillared mandapa near the gateway of Tiruvāḷiyālvān temple is also the benefaction of Kambaya Daṇḍanāyakkar.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF KARIYAMĀNIKKAR DAṆḌANĀYAKKAR

The (completion of the) above mandapa and a structure to its east with an ornamental roof, a stage-like mandapa with ornamental paintings on the walls of the verandah, the shrine of the God, and steps and cornices above, are the benefactions of Kariyamānikka Daṇḍanāyakkar.*

* Kambaya Daṇḍanāyakkā and Kariyamānikka Daṇḍanāyakkā were most probably officials of Hoysala Ramanat who is mentioned in a few inscriptions in the Srirangam temple (ARE 67 of 1892; SH. IV. 514., 80 of 1936-37; SH. XXIV. P. 90., 62 and 74 of 1936-37., and 57 of 1892; SH. IV. 504).

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF MALAIPPERUMĀL

The details of (the construction of) the temple of Eḍuttakal Aḷagiya Nainār are: As Eḍuttakal Aḷagiya Nainār had made as His holy presence the northern gopura of the Ālināḍan enclosure, wherein Tirumangai Ālvār had installed His image, the Malayāla king Chērakumāran Malaipperiṇṇāl built the coping and the vimānā of that shrine. Later on he raised the structure over the frontal foundations.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF VIRA NARASINGADEVAR

The tirumandapa, the upper coping and the walls of the above shrine were the benefactions of Vira Narasingadēvar the Kannada king.*

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF AGULUR VARANĀDARĀYAR

The tirumandapa in the frontal verandah, the descending steps and the kitchen of this temple were the benefactions of Agulur Varanādarāyar.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF DĒVAPPERUMĀL

As the supporting pillar of the Akalangan gateway to its north, and the northern wall were wearing out, Dēvapperumāl, the son of Agulur Varanādarāyar fixed the pillar of the doorway and reconstructed the wall.

THE BENEFACCTIONS OF VĀLANĀDARĀYAR

Vālanādarāyar built the Paraman mandapa surrounding the temple of Garudālvār in the big tirumandapa in an exquisite manner with four rafters with four nails driven

* This refers to Hoysala Narasimha II. who has two inscriptions in the Srirangam temple; (ARE 69 of 1936-37, 34 of 1892; EI VII. P. 163).

through them and eight pillars with pots on their heads on all the four sides, with the help of Paraman, the carpenter, during the reign of Āḡuḷūr Varanādarāyar. He also built the Periya tiruvadi mandapa and gave to the former mandapa the name of 'Paraman mandapam.' *

THE BENEFLECTIONS OF TRIVIKRAMA CHŌLA

The wall surrounding the Akalangan enclosure and in its turn surrounded by the street of continual processions (the Chitra street) and the four gopuras were the benefactions of Trivikrama Chōḷa. The Trivikraman enclosure is called after him.

THE BENEFLECTIONS OF PAḶḶIKONDA CHŌLA

The temple singers stationing themselves alongside the housefronts in the east māda street within the Trivikraman enclosure, would recite the prabandas, when the Perumāḷ is seated beneath the umbrella over the thousand-pillared mandapa. The Pallavarāyan mutt in the west of the north māda street, the Cēran mutt in the east of the car (street), the Pāḍyan mandapa and mutt to its east including the feeding of the Vaiṣṇava devotees there, the wall of the 'Māda-māḷigai-sūḷ-tiruvīdī' (the Chitra street) that surrounds this enclosure with its four gateways, were the benefactions of Paḷḷikonda Chōḷa.

THE BENEFLECTIONS OF KALIYUGARĀMAN

He built the Tirumangai Āḷvār mutt towards the north of the western half of that street (i.e., the Chitra street) and also, various other mutts.†

* Varanāda Rayar and Vālanāda Rayar were probably chieftains of the Vijayanagar Rayas.

† It is not possible to identify Trivikrama Chōḷa, Paḷḷikonda Chōḷa and Kaliyugarāman. Probably these were Chōḷa administrative officers functioning in the region of Srirangam and Uraiyur.

In this way, from the time when the prakaras arose, up to this, the temple affairs have been looked after by those who carried out repairs and reconstructions. The prakara that surrounds the above street is a benefaction of Kaliyugarāman.

THE SHRINE OF TIRUKKURAJAPPAN

Among the shrines surrounding the temple that of Tirukkuraḷappan (Vāmana-Trivikrama) on the northern bank of the southern Kāvēri had for long been a 'sandyā madam.' When after Kali 445 Madurakavi Āḷvār brought Nammāḷvār from Tirunagari, on the command of the Perumāḷ, the latter assigned the 'sandyā madam' to Nammāḷvār, as His abode. Since that time Nammāḷvār has made the shrine of Tirukkuraḷappan His holy presence. This is as established in the Tirukkuraḷappan purana.

THE BENEFLECTIONS OF VALLABHADĒVAN

After Kali 105 Āḷagiyamanavāḷan, as Rangamaṇṇār, in Srivilliputtūr, married Sūdikkodutta Goda (Goda who offered garlands to God after herself wearing them). When He returned to Srirangam along with the Nācciyār, Vallabhadēvan, the disciple of Periyāḷvār offered a lot of treasure to Goda, as dowry. He seated the Nācciyār in a palanquin and brought her to the northern bank of the southern Kāvēri where he got her down and celebrated for her such elegant ceremonies as bathing in the river, etc. The Nācciyār, welcomed by all, entered the temple, seated in the palanquin and disappeared. To commemorate this, Vallabhadēvan built a temple for Sūdikkodutta Nācciyār in a garden and

installed her image therein. This is known as 'Veḷi sannidi' (i.e., the outer shrine of Andal).¹

Kāṭṭaḷagiyasingar. His installation in the east evidenced in the puranas.²

THE MONARCH OF DELHI CARRIES AWAY AḶAGIYAMAṆAVALAN

Thus, when, in the great city of Tiruvarangan Perumāl was living along with His parivārās, the king of Delhi, a 'tulukkan' (Muhammadan) defeated Pratāpa in battle and extended his sway all over Tondaimanda Cholaṁdalaṁ and other areas. He carried away the image of all the sacred shrines. He came to Tiruvarangan and entered the temple through the northern gate. When the invaders approached the Āryabhataḷ gateway to the north, Panjukondān did battle with them and stopped them but was easily overpowered by a number of assailants.

1. This anecdote is missing in the temple manuscript.

2. Kāṭṭaḷagiyasingar, it is said, was installed in Cānyakṣetra, to the east of Srirangam to stop the conflict that was being created there by wild elephants.

In the above pages the chronicler in the Olugu has attempted in a summary manner to deal with the growth of the temple. Starting from the sanctum which was built by the mythical Dharmavarman he has come up to the outer enclosure, which was the work of a Kaliyugārāman. Finally, as mentioned, in addition, a few shrines outside the temple. The description appears to be complete but in many places its authenticity has first to be taken for granted in the absence of confirmation. The chronicler next deals with the first Muslim attack on Srirangam (1310-11 A.D.). The decline of the Ālvārs is now over and a long period of decline in Vaiṣṇava organization begins. This is stopped by the appearance of the Ācāryas beginning with Nāṁmuni (10th century) and culminating in Ramanuja (11th century). The error in chronology and sequence is obvious.

who plunged in and plundered the treasury, etc., carrying away the images of Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷa Perumāl, Cherakulaṁvalli and all the treasures of the temple. At this time there was, in Karambanūr, a woman who observed the vow of taking food daily, only after worshipping Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷa Perumāl. When the Perumāl left the place, she left her family and, foodless, entered the war-camp of the king of Delhi. She started along with the Muhammadan, taking comestibles only, and reached Delhi. She saw him taking away the image of Rāmapriyar of Tirunārayapuram. She entered the Muhammadan's house disguised, and mixed herself with the women (of the palace). The Muhammadan placed the idols in the store-room of the palace. The daughter of the king of Delhi, seeing the idols of Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷa Perumāl, took it to play with and placed it in her bedroom. The woman (of Karambanūr) decided that such a position was not quite conducive to the sacred body of Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷa Perumāl and wanted to make this known in the temple. She returned to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangan and revealed the news in the Holy Presence. Periya Perumāl, along with His parivārās, gladly received her, gave her the name of 'Pincenravalli' ('she who followed') and offered her many presents.

THE TEMPLE SERVANTS FETCH BACK AḶAGIYAMAṆAVALAN

On hearing this narrative, the temple authorities, after deep reflection, placed the image of Sriranga Nācciyār beneath the bilva tree, in great security, barred the gateway of the sanctum of the temple with a stone slab and suspended all worship and festivals. Thus deserting the temple, all the temple servants—sixty in number—followed the lead of Pincenravalli to Delhi. As before, Pincenravalli entered the palace disguised, and, winning the confidence of the

1. This anecdote, the God brought sleep to the girl and
2. Kattalagiri in the singer informed the Sultan about this, he
ranyakshetra, to the followed the parivāras to take back their God
that was being created took the Perumāḷ and, on that very night
In the above passage a distance of eight miles.
tempted in a sum

In the above passage a distance of eight miles. tempted in a summer temple. Starting from THE PERUMĀL THE SULTĀNĪ DĪE myrēal Dharmavar. the daughter of the king of Delhi woke up enclosure, which was th smote with sorrow when she missed the has mentioned, in addit He was not to be found in the palace The description appears. The separation of her lover made her its authenticity has fir The absence of confirmation can to think of ending her life. Her first Muslim attack on Delhi, came to know of this and made period of the Ālvārs is temple retinue, in his city. He was decline in Vaiṣṇava orga and left the previous night. Realising by the appearance of the and did not survive till the image was muni (10th century) and by his men, he sent her on journey century). The error in chronology is

along with his armies in search of the image and also sent an advance search party. The Sultāni started with the army three days after the advance party had left, her life sustained only by the desire of seeing the Perumāḷ. When they reached Chandragiri near Tiruvēṅgaḍam, the temple retinue heard of their approach and adopted the plan of fleeing dispersed. lest they be found and caught and the Perumāḷ carried away. Three 'kodavar,' who were related to each other as uncle, brother-in-law and nephew ascended the Tirumalai (the Tiruppati hill) with the Perumāḷ. The other fifty-seven took diverse routes. The 'tulukkans,' not finding the temple retinue on their way, went to Srirangam, where they heard that the Perumāḷ had not yet arrived and saw the temple gateway barred by a piece of rock. Losing all hope, the Sultāni, like Chintayanti, breathed her last, unable to bear the separation.

THE KODAVAR PROTECT ALAGIYAMANAVĀLAN

After this, the Muhammadan armies reached Tiruppati and heard that the Perumāḷ had gone up the hills. From the foot of the hills they deputed many men to make a search for the Perumāḷ throughout the hills. Not finding a secret place, in that region, for the Perumāḷ to hide, the koḍavar thought of a plan. Placing his brother-in-law and nephew on the top of the hill, the uncle tied himself to the Perumāḷ with the help of roots and herbs and asked the two on the top to let him down into a declivity by means of a creeper fastened to a promontory of the mountain, jutting out like the hood of a serpent. In course of time his body perished. The Perumāḷ continued to remain beneath the promontory. The brother-in-law and the nephew got down the slope with the help of plants and creepers, worshipped the Perumāḷ, cremated the body of the dead uncle, and remained unknown.

1. A class of temple servants.

1. A class of temple servants.

on the slopes to the north of Alarmēlmangaipuram. The brother-in-law too died, in course of time. The nephew, however, remained unseen, with the Perumāḷ, for a long time, living on roots and fruits.

THE MONARCH OF DELHI IS SURPRISED

The Muhammadan armies, not finding the Perumāḷ returned to Delhi and conveyed to its king the news of the death of his daughter. The king felt great sorrow and surprise at the same time. In the meanwhile the temple retinue, one by one, reached Srirangam.

THE INSTALLATION OF TIRUVARANGA MĀLIGAIYĀR AND ANOTHER NĀCCIYĀR IN THE TEMPLE

With the permission of the Chola, the king of that region, the doors of the temple were thrown open and an extensive search for Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ in many regions and in various ways was conducted. The Perumāḷ and the Koḍavar were not to be found, nor were there any indications of their return. The image of Tiruvaranga Māligaiyār, as representing the effulgence of the Perumāḷ, was installed in His place. Then the pariṇas searched the base of the bilva tree, where they had previously hidden the image of Sriranga Nācciyār. But the Nācciyār could not be found. Hence another image of Nācciyār was cast and installed. (Thus settling affairs) they conducted all festivals for the Perumāḷ, as of old.

AḷAGIYAMAṆAVĀḶAN AND THE KOḌAVAR ARE SEEN BY TWO IRUḶAS¹

Thus, at a time, when, fifty-nine years and six months had passed since Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ left the temple,

1. Members of a primitive hunting tribe.

which period He was spending in the jungle after a two-years' stay in the palace of the monarch of Delhi, two Iruḷas espied an eighty year old brahmin in a hut of leaves¹ at the foot of the hills. That old man was having a divine and sacred image with him, to which he was rendering oblations. His head was overgrown with hair. He had wound a creeper round his loin, and a bark of the areca palm served as his loin-cloth. A blade of teak served as his mantle and the creeper of the 'kottān'² as the sacred thread. Both the Iruḷas approached the brahmin and inquired him about the whys and wherefores of his condition. The old man told them all that had happened since the Perumāḷ left the temple and requested them to carry the news to the town and make arrangements for taking the Perumāḷ to Srirangam, pleading at the same time, that he had become too old for the task.

THE LORD OF CHANDRAGIRI GETS OUT THE PERUMĀḶ AND THE KOḌAVAR

The Iruḷas went to the city of Chandragiri, told its chieftain what they saw, and, taking him through a difficult route, showed him the Perumāḷ and the old man. With great surprise the chieftain brought the Perumāḷ and the old man out into his town.

THE TEMPLE RETINUE PREVENT THE KOḌAVAR FROM ENTERING THE TEMPLE WITH THE PERUMĀḶ.

The old man after performing the cremation ceremony (mantric) and other obsequies in honour of his maternal uncle came to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam, with the Perumāḷ and the treasures given to him by the chieftain of

1. "In a mountain spring," according to another version.
2. A parasitic leafless plant.

- * Chandragiri¹ As a long time had passed and as all the aged men had died, the then existing temple retinue, who had not seen the Perumāḷ, refused the God entry into the temple.

THE BENEFACTIONS OF RĀJĒNDRA CHŌLA, WHO
KNEW THROUGH A WASHERMAN, THAT THE
IDOL WAS AḶAGIYAMAṆAVĀLAN

The old man had seated the God in the Tirumangai-mānnaṉ tirumandapa within the Sēnaivenrān tirumandapa, in the third enclosure. The temple parivārās were, all the while entertaining needless suspicion toward the old man, and the Perumāḷ. When the Perumāḷ was taken away to Delhi the image of the Nācciyār was placed beneath the bilva tree (and it had disappeared later). At day-break on the day following the return of the Perumāḷ, the crest of the crown of Srīranga Nācciyār was visible beneath the bilva tree by the side of the Nācciyār shrine. The parijanas examined this and exposed the image of the Nācciyār. The Chola king was informed of this miracle. The parijanas gave up their suspicion towards the old man and began to doubt whether he was not having the Perumāḷ! The Chola came to the temple, worshipped the Perumāḷ and heard all the details (about the arrival of the Koḍavar with the Perumāḷ). He searched, in the town, for aged men, and came across an old temple-washerman, who was ninety-three years old, with considerable firmness of frame and a sound

1. Another edition (Ed. by Arangasami Mudaliar and printed at the Umāpati Guruprakāsa Press, Royapettah, 1909) retains the Perumāḷ at Chandragiri, till He is taken to Chenci (or Gingee), by Gopana Udayār, who establishes the God at Srīrangam, in Saka 1293, in great triumph, after destroying the Muhammadan forces. The Ananda Press edition as well as the temple manuscript refer to it later.

common sense, but blind due to age. When he was asked about the past incidents his narrative was found to conform to that related by the old Koḍavar. To the question "how is this divine and sacred idol to be identified?", the washerman replied that though he could not see and decide, because he was blind, yet, as he was accustomed to take in the 'tirtham' from the wet clothes of Aḷagiyamaṇavālan while serving him, he could now say that the 'tirumanjana tirtham'¹ of the present Perumāḷ did not have the same taste. He asked the parijanas to bathe both the images and give him the 'wet-cloth-tirtham'.² Accordingly both the Perumāḷs were bathed and he was offered the tirthams. When he took the 'wet-cloth-tirtham' of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ, he shouted in joy "He is our God! Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ," and so lost himself in love for his dear God that he shed tears and regained his normal self only after many a while. The Chola and others were struck by his devotion. The same night Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ revealed to the Chola, in a dream, all the details (of His perigrinations). As a result the king installed in the temple the images of Srīranga Nācciyār and Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ. Under the commands of the Perumāḷ a room was erected within the procession path, in the north western corner of the Rājamahēndra enclosure, wherein the picture of the Sultāni, the daughter of the king of Delhi, was painted and installed. Every dawn, as happened in Delhi, the divine food of wheat bread, sweet dal, and kiṇṇidi (a dainty made of rice and pulse) were to be offered to the Perumāḷ and then to Bhūmi (the) Nācciyār or Sāndu Nācciyār, for which offering two villages in Koṇāṇḍu were granted by Rājamahēndra Chōḷa.

1. Water used in bathing the deity (here dripping from his vestments). 2. Iravāḍaitirtham.

ARULAPPĀḌU IN THE NAMES OF 'TIRUTTĀḶVA
DĀSAR', 'IRANKOLLI,' 'PANJUKONDĀN,' AND
'ISAIYARIUM—PERUMĀḶ—KOOTATĀR'

Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ ascended the 'Cherap-
yan' throne and (thence) calling the old Koḍavar gave him
name of 'Tiruttāḷavarai dāsar' ('the servant who prot-
the God at the foot of the hill') and bestowed upon
many prizes of honour. He then called the old washer
'Irankolli' ('he who kills moisture out of clothes') and
him many presents. From that time the Koḍavar enjoyed
honorific of 'Tiruttāḷavarai dāsar' and the temple washer
that of 'Irankolli'. Since Panjukondān fought with
Muhammadans in disregard of his life, at the northern
way of the Kulasekharan enclosure, the Perumāḷ decid-
honour him with Arulappāḍu and many presents when
He passed along that gateway. All these details had
inscribed on the outer wall of the Sāndunāchiyar shrine
they were destroyed when the Chitra mandapa was re-
constructed. Since Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ, attracted
melody of the temple musicians, came away leaving the
tāni, arulappaḍu is issued to them in the name of 'Isai-
yari Perumāḷ kūṭatār' ('the group of the Perumal well-
in music.')

* From inscriptions it is known that the pro-
- image of Sri Ranganatha was brought from Tiruppa-
- restored in Srirangam by the Vijayanagar chieftains in
A.D. The Olugu mentions fifty nine and a half years
period of absence of the God from Srirangam. This
us to the raid of Malik Kafur (1310—11 A.D.). Her-
accounts of the mysterious recovery of the idol from
Sultan's palace by Pincenravalli, the love of the Sultan
the Perumal and the restoration effected by Rajendra
have no foundation in fact. The last reigning Chola
Rajendra III died in 1279 A.D. The mention of an

THE CODE DRAWN UP BY SRIMAD
NĀTHAMUNIGAL

Afterwards, the daily, the monthly, and the annual fes-
tivals were celebrated for the Perumāḷ in all lustre, as of
old. For a long time, after the Perumāḷ had granted to the
Tiruvāimōḷi, a place of equality with the Vēdas on the
Tiruvadyayanotsava day of the month of Mārgaḷi, for the
sake of Tirumangaimannan, He continued to hear the pra-
bandas. But as an effect of the bad days (that followed) the
prabandas receded into obscurity and the learning and teach-
ing of the sacred hymns died away. Hence there was no occa-
sion for the Āḷvar (Nammāḷvar) to go over to the temple. *

tion of Rajendra Chola assignable to a date near about 1371
is clearly stamps the account as spurious. This inscription
is supposed to have been destroyed during repairs to the
Chitra mandapa. Obviously the chronicler recorded these
events from hearsay long after they had happened and had
mixed up history with legend. The legend of Tulukka
Nācciyār must have grown up around memories of the
Muhammadan invasions and the sack of Srirangam and is of
considerable interest to a student of folk-lore. The shrine
of Bībi Nācciyār in the Srirangam temple is a standing testi-
mony of this tradition, which is common to most Vishnu
temples, which suffered from Muslim raids at one time or
another.

* According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition there was a long
interval of about two centuries between the age of the
Āḷvars and that of the Ācāryas (c. 800—1000), during
which the works of the Āḷvars are said to have disappeared.
These were recovered by Nāthamuni, the first of the Ācā-
ryas, by means of yogic power, collected together and edi-
ted, and arrangements were made for their recitation in the
temples and homes of the Vaiṣṇavas. There is no real
explanation of the "bad days," mentioned in the Olugu,
with reference to the interval of two centuries. The Mus-
- attacks came later. There was also no social or political
upheaval in the country. It was the period of the rise of

Srimad Nāthamunigaḷ was born after Kali 3924.* When he came to Kumbakōnam from Mannār Kōil (Vīrāyaṇapuram) during his religious tour he heard the 'ten' beginning with 'āravamudū' of the work Nammālvār¹ recited. He came to Tirunagari and he the 'Kaṇṇinuṇciruttāmbu'² of Madurakavi Ālvār praise of Nammālvār, recited by Parāṅkusa Nambū follower of Madura Kavi Ālvār's headship. He did penance met the Ālvār and through him learnt the works of all ten Ālvārs, and those of Āṇḍāḷ. Thus blessed he came to the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam and took over the office of the Srikāryam.³ He was immensely pleased when he heard of the astonishing favour that the Perumāḷ had rendered to the Tiruvāimōḷi, for the sake of Tirumangaimannan and of the divine grace shown towards Nammālvār. Through his own and other students he made many Śrīvaiṣṇava learn the sacred works of the Ālvārs, the 'divya prabandam' in regular classes. Since the Perumāḷ had equated the Tiruvāimōḷi to the Vēdas, he fixed the times of 'upakrama' and 'utsarjana' (i.e., commencement and temporary suspension of the recital of the sacred hymns) for the Tiruvāimōḷi, for the Vēdas. Accordingly 'utsarjana' was to be during

the Cholas. The "bad days" is evidently a fiction created by the chronicler, who was eager to tell a continuous tale and anxious to give some sort of explanation for a period which no saint flourished.

* i.e., 823 A.D. This date brings the Ācārya too near the Ālvārs and hence contradicts a well known Vaiṣṇava tradition.

1. The Tiruvāimōḷi, which consists of 10 centums of tens each. 2. These are the first words of the first stanza of 11 stanzas of Madurakavi in praise of Satakōpani or Nammālvār. They also form the name of the work. 3. This is the supreme office in the temple, referred to in the subsequent pages of this work as the 'Sēṇāpati dūrantara'.

the great Kārtikai festival and 'upakrama' on the day of 'aukḷa dasami' during the Adyayanōtsava, in the month of Mārgaḷi. Between the 'utsarjana' and the 'upakrama' (i.e., between the Kārtikai festival and the Adyayanōtsava) the Śrīvaiṣṇavas were to think of but not recite (the prabandam). As of old the Ālvār was to be done the honours of Tirumugappattaiyam,¹ etc. Nammālvār, the head of the Ālvārs was to be given the divine oil (with which the deity is smeared) and the remnant (after the divine use) was to be distributed among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas for smearing it on their throats, even as the Perumāḷ caused the oil remaining after His own use, to be smeared on the throat of Tirumangaimannan, to drive away the pain caused by having recited before Him the Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam during the Kārtikai festival. As the Rīg and other Vēdas had the śikṣa,² etc., and the itihāsa purāṇa as their auxiliaries, the four prabandam of Nammālvār³ were to occupy the places of the four Vēdas and the prabandam of the other Ālvārs and Āṇḍāḷ were to be their auxiliaries ('aṅgas and upa-aṅgas'). The Tiruvāimōḷi explained the meaning of the 'dvayam'.⁴ The prabandam, viz., the 'Tiruppaliāṇḍu,' the 'Tirumōḷi' of Periyālvār, the 'Tirupavai,' the 'Nācciyār Tirumōḷi,' the 'Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi.'

1. Divine epistle, i.e., sending out a letter to the devotees as if from God. Refer to the incident of Tirumangaimannan. 2. Phonology, a Vādāṅga, the others being, vyākaraṇa (grammar), sandas (prosody), nirutta (etymological explanation of the difficult words), jyotiṣa (astrology), and kalpa (explanations of the laws of gifts and donations). 3. The 'Tiruvāimōḷi,' supposed to be the essence of the Samaveda, the 'Tiruviruttam' (Rīgveda), the 'Tiruvāsiriyam' (Yajurveda) and the 'Periya tiruvandādi' (Atharvaveda). 4. A famous couplet in Vaiṣṇava literature, viz., 'Sriman Nārāyaṇa carāṇau śaranam prabadye, Srimad Nārāyaṇa nāmaḥ.'

the 'Tiruccandaviruttam,' the 'Tirumālai,' and the 'Tirup paḷḷieḷucchi' were classified under the 'First Thousand,' as illustrating the meaning of the praṇava (OM). The 'Kaṇṇinucciruttāmbu' explained the meaning of the sound 'NAMO.' The prabandas, viz., the 'Tirumōḷi,' the 'Tirukkurundāṇḍagam,' the 'Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam,' the three prabandas of the Mudal Āḷvars, the 'Nānmugantiruvandādi,' the 'Tiruviruttam,' the 'Tiruvāsiriam,' the 'Periya tirumaḍal,' the 'Siriya tirumaḍal,' and the 'Periya tiruvandādi' formed the exposition of the remainder of the mantra (NĀRĀYAṆĀYA). The prabandas beginning with the first 'Tiruvandādi' and ending with the 'Tirumaḍal' were classified as 'Iyappa' as they were chiefly concerned with 'sabda.' Thus the twenty-three prabandas formed the exposition of the meaning of the sacred mantra (ŌM NAMŌ NĀRĀYAṆĀYA.) The prabandas beginning with the 'Tiruppallāṇḍu' and ending with the 'Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam' were to be recited before the Perumāḷ during the ten days preceding the Adyayanōtsava. The 'Iyappa thousand,' beginning with the First Tiruvandādi and ending with the 'Tirumaḍal' was to be recited during the (ten) days succeeding the Adyayanōtsava. The stanzas composed by the ten Āḷvars, Madurakavi and Āṇḍal were counted to be four thousand. As the Vedas, the Vedānta, the purāṇās and the itihāsās should increase for the (Vedic) brahmin, for the Srivaiṣṇavas, who are eager for salvation it was essential that these prabandas should increase. Of these the 'Tiruppāvai' and the 'Tiruppallieḷucchi' were to be chanted every day at dawn. The 'Kaṇṇinucciruttāmbu,' whose subject-matter is the Āḷvar, was to be recited before and after the Tiruvāimōḷi. Thus was the religious code drawn up. Every year Nāthamuni,

1. Knowledge of God through 'sound' as opposed to 'artha' or import.

like Tirumangaimannan, recited the 'Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam' during the Kārtikai festival, the Mudalāyiram (First Thousand), the 'Tirukkurundāṇḍagam,' the 'Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam' and the 'Tirumōḷi' during the Tirumōḷi festival, created by him, and the 'Tiruvāimōḷi' during the Adyayanōtsava, in divine melody, illustrating them with gestures, like Madurakavi. The day after the Adyayanōtsava he chanted the Iyappa, primarily concerned with 'sabda,' along with others in a chorus. Thus every year, he worshipped the Perumāḷ. He taught his sister's sons, Kīḷaiyagattāḷvān, Mēlaiyagattāḷvān to sing to tune the divyaprabandas of the Āḷvars, and appointing them to sing and worship like himself, during the Tirumōḷi and Tiruvāimōḷi festivals, he reached the abode of Viṣṇu.*

ALAGIYAMAṆAVALAN, WELL VERSED IN MUSIC,
HONOURS THE TEMPLE SINGERS WITH THE
TITLE OF ARAYAR, TURBAN AND SILK
UPPER GARMENT

Kīḷaiyagattāḷvān and Mēlaiyagattāḷvān recited the prabandas, in the Tirumōḷi and Tiruvāimōḷi festivals, according to the code of Nāthamuni and pleased the Perumāḷ to such an extent that He gave the name of 'the Arayar of the so-called Maṇḍalā Perumāḷ' to the one and of 'Nāṭavinṇḍa Arayar' to the other. Like the Āḷvar these were also presented with a turban, cotton and silk upper garments

*The gradual disappearance of the prabandas and their sudden reappearance through the efforts of Nāthamuni need not be taken too literally. According to the Vaiṣṇava tradition Nāthamuni first collected the prabandas together and made arrangements for their recitation in goṣṭhis in the Nāṭhagum temple. The orthodox account of his yogic feat is nothing but an exaggeration of his real and substantial work in connection with the 'Nalayiraprabandam.'

and garlands, that had been removed after use by the Perumāḷ. Also, as the Perumāḷ gave to Nammālvār certain presents appropriate to His travel, when He sent him back to Tirunagari, He presented the Arayar with umbrellas, drums and pennons or birudas as the prizes of honour and commanded His Sēnāpati to take the Arayar home. Accordingly the 'Senapati durantra' took them home, followed by all the pariyanas, and returned after leaving them there. From that time the temple singers enjoy these two titles, and they are generally known by the name of Arayar. Inspired by the melody of the music, the Perumāḷ, as evidence of His being 'Gāyakaśārvabhauman' (Emperor of Musicians), gave to those singers—and not to any other pariyanas—the title of Arayar, a turban and an upper garment as marks of their proud position.

THE GLORY OF UYYAKONḌĀR, MAṆAKKĀL NAMBI AND ĀḶAVANDĀR

After this, when Uyyakonḍār and Maṇakkāl Nambi were controlling the religious code and the temple affairs, the Lord of Orissa expanded beyond his limits. Hearing this, Āḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ emigrated to Tirumalirunjōlai-malai, where He stayed for a year. When He returned back some of the temple retainers had turned traitors to God Ranganatha. As even the arcaka had joined them and proved false the worship was carried on by the priests well-versed in the Vaikhanasa Āgama.*

*An inscription in the Srirangam temple of Māravarman Sundara Pandya (ARE 53 of 1892; S11. IV. 500), dated in his 9th year (1225 A.D.) says that the generals of the Pandya freed the Srirangam temple from the Oḍḍas (Odras or Orissans), who were adversely interfering with the administration of the temple for a period of two years (1123—1225 A.D.) The Orissan king at the time was Anangabhimā III

Men of other religious communities, — members of all the six creeds, built houses and lived independently in Tiruvarangam. At this time Maṇakkāl Nambi corrected Āḷavandār,¹ also known as Yamunaitṭuṇṇavar, and made him worship Periya Perumāḷ. Due to the beneficence of the Perumāḷ Āḷavandar freed himself from every material attachment, renounced all his property, assumed the robes of an ascetic and, entering the 'sāmrajya' of Periya Perumāḷ, took upon himself the office of the 'Srikāryam'. Controlling the temple affairs according to the Āgamas he removed all the members of other creeds from places of influence and dismissed them from the temple.

(111—38 A.D.), the Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga. In Conjivaram there is an inscription of the king, which records his gift of 128 cows and four bulls to the God Paratūḷa Perumal (ARE 445 of 1919).

The Srirangam epigraph mentioned above says that the heads of the ten groups of temple servants joined with the Oḍḍas and collected a levy called the Oḍḍukāsu to pay to the Oḍḍas. The Olugu gives a wrong date for the Odra invasion. It places the invasion during the pontificate of Uyyakonḍār and Maṇakkāl Nambi, i.e., roughly during the 10th century. It gives a new piece of information, viz., that the God of Srirangam was removed for purposes of safety to Tirumalirumsolai (i.e., Āḷagarkoil, near Madura) for a year. The Olugu is not aware of the Pandya restoration but simply states that Āḷavandār expelled the non-Vaiṣṇavas from Srirangam. Āḷavandar again came much earlier.

1. According to the Guruparamparai Āḷavandār, who won a disputation with the court pandit, lost himself in the luxury of royal favour but was recalled to his religious vocation by the energies of Maṇakkāl Nambi. Āḷavandar was the grandson of Nāthamuni.

THE GLORY OF ĀLVAR TIRUVARANGAPPERUMA ARAYAR

Ālvār Tiruvarangapperumāḷ Arayar grew up to manhood, became well-versed in the musical arts and was highly devoted to God. During the Tirumōḷi and the Tiruvāimōḷi festivals he enlightened the God by enacting the noble deeds of Āḷagiyamanavāḷa Perumāḷ in His Vibhava manifestation, impersonating the God, himself adorned with folded oranmental cloth and illustrating them with gestures. The Perumāḷ was highly pleased with him and gave him the name of 'Koīl-udaya-Perumāḷ-Arayar', and bestowed upon him all honours. Once, during the Tiruvūḷal festival¹, when the Perumāḷ started back to the temple on the 'tōḷukkiniyān'² from the Kāvēri, He called the Arayar and said to him, "Sing in rhythm to Our beautiful gait". The Arayar began to sing devotional songs and continued till the God reached the temple. Once, in the Panguni Uttiram festival, when the Perumāḷ was sporting in water with the Nācciyār, in the cool Nācciyār garden, He saw the Arayar and issued aruḷappāḍu to Vasantan, the God of Spring. Koīl-udaya-Perumāḷ Arayar divined what was in the mind of the God and sang (invoking Vasantan) at which the Perumāḷ was mightily pleased. From the time of this Arayar are in vogue the following: the title 'Koīl-udaya-Perumāḷ-Arayar', the enactment and illustration of the great deeds of the God in His Vibhava and dasavatars by one adorned with the ornamental folded cloth and appearing in the respective forms, the singing in tune with the movement of the idol, while returning from the Kāvēri during

1. festival held in summer on an islet of a river.
2. A wooden frame for carrying the idol.

the Tiruvūḷal festival, and the recital of songs, after aruḷappāḍu to Vasantan, when the Perumāḷ and the Nācciyār are seated together, during the Panguni Uttiram festival.

THE GLORY OF UḌAYAVAR

After superintending the temple affairs for a long time, Āḷavandār began to think of his successor, who could manage the temple benefactions and services. He heard of ḷḷayāḷvār (Rāmānuja) born in Sriperumbudūr and who was learning the sacred lore under the Guru Yādavaprakāsa in Perumāḷ-koil (Little Conjivaram). Āḷavandār went to Perumāḷ Koil, met ḷḷayāḷvār and did him a great favour by requesting him to look after the temple services and benefactions. Then, after worshipping Perarūḷāḷan (Viṣṇu enshrined in Little Conjivaram), he returned to Sriperumbudūr, where he heard that ḷḷayāḷvār had left Yādavaprakāsa and was rendering the service of fetching tirumanam (holy water) for the puja of Dēvapperumāḷ, from a 'road side well,' which was particularly congenial to the God. He composed a hymn in praise of Dēvapperumāḷ and sent (it with) Periya Nambi to Perumāḷ Koil. Periya Nambi came to Perumāḷ Koil and recited Āḷavandār's hymn in the holy presence of Dēvapperumāḷ. ḷḷayāḷvār, on hearing it, was intensely moved by it and, wishing to see Āḷavandār started with Periya Nambi and reached Tirukkarambanūr (Uttumarkoil). While staying there, he noted a tumult on the other side of the river, and on making inquiries, was told that Āḷavandār was no more and his body was being laid on the funeral pyre. With great sorrow, he, along with Periya Nambi, crossed over and saw the sacred frame. He understood Āḷavandār's mind and promised to execute his

wishes.¹ Since his coming had proved so ineffectual he returned to Perumāḷ Kōil without even worshipping the Perumāḷ (at Srirangam), and continued, as of old, the sacred service of offering tirumanjanam for the puja of Dēvap-perumal. As commanded by Pērarūḷa Perumāḷ in 'six words'² through the mouth of Tirukkachi Nambi, he started to 'seek spiritual guidance at the feet of Periya Nambi.' At the same time Alagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ had appointed Periya Nambi (to go to Ilaiyālvār). Accordingly he started and met Ilaiyālvār in Srimadurāntakam (and made him his disciple). Thus attaining the object of his mission he, along with Ilaiyālvār, went to Perumāḷ Kōil, stayed there for a short time, and returned to Srirangam. Subsequently the

1. The Guruparamparai says that on approaching the dead body of Ālavandār, Rāmānuja noticed that three out of the five fingers of the right hand of the departed guru were folded. On ascertaining that it was not due to any physical defect he interpreted it to be the result of the unfulfilment of some of the wishes of the guru and accordingly he was told that Ālavandār had three objects in view which he himself could not fulfil, viz., (1) an easy and simple commentary on the Brahmasūtra and (2 & 3) the giving of the names of Parāśara and Saṭakopa to persons that would immortalise those names. It is said that on Rāmānuja promising to fulfill these three objects the fingers straightened. 2. Rāmānuja, being displeased with his wife because of her obnoxious orthodoxy, wanted to know what Pērarūḷa Perumāḷ had thought of his future and hence requested Tirukkachi Nambi to ascertain it from the God. On his application the Perumāḷ revealed the following six short sentences with reference to Rāmānuja: (1) We are the Highest truth. (2) The religious tenet is Difference. (3) The means is surrender. (4) Prayers in the last moments are unnecessary. (5) Such people attain moksha after death. (6) He (Rāmānuja) should seek spiritual guidance at the feet of Periya Nambi.

Perumāḷ and the citizens of the sacred city of Tiruvarangam heard of Ilaiyālvār's entry into the (sannyāsa) Āsram. On the command of Alagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ, the temple authorities appointed Tiruvarangapperumāḷ Arayar to go to Perumāḷ Kōil and bring Rāmānuja. The Arayar started and reached Perumāḷ Kōil and so allured Dēvap-perumāḷ with his melodious music that he obtained Rāmānuja as reward and started with him to Srirangam on sudda purnami of the month of Vaikāsi of the year Vikrama (Saka 962). Under the command of Alagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ who heard of this, Sēṇaimudaliār, (varāha) along with the temple parivārās came up to the shrine of Panriyālvān and, welcoming Rāmānuja, took him into the temple. Alagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ came in procession, borne by the arcakas, to the door way of the sanctum and welcomed him. Rāmānuja, led by Periya Nambi, entered the sanctum and offered worship. Periya Perumāḷ looked at him pleasingly, honoured him with 'parivaṭṭam' and other presents and also offered him the sceptre (of temple management). Then he issued the following aruḷappādu : "We have given you all Our wealth and power, to be employed as you wish and desire; and as the 'POSSESSOR'² and bestower of eternal bliss (moksha) you look after Our affairs." He also commanded His parijanas to take Uḍayavar to the 'Chēran mutt', the first house in the eastern half of the North Mada Street, within the Trivikraman enclosure*.

Accordingly Uḍayavar, along with Ālvān and Āṇḍān³ housed himself in that mutt begging the pardon of Periya

1. A special honour done to a devotee by tying round his head a piece of cloth torn from the vestment of the deity. 2. Hence 'Uḍayavar' in Tamil, the name by which Rāmānuja is generally known. 3. Two of Uḍayavar's foremost disciples.

* i.e., the no. th Uttara Street.

Nambi and the parijanas. From the next day onward assumed and exercised the office of the Srikāryam, in manner given below :

He appointed Ālvān as his trusted assistant in conducting the religious code. Mudaliyāṇḍān was appointed to exercise control over the inner organisation of the temple. With his station on the verandah of the 'umikkaṭṭu' (probably the place where husk was stored) to the south of the doorway of the store house, Uḍayavar superintended and controlled the temple affairs and the ceremonies in the western and the eastern gardens, attended to the customary disbursements to certain individuals from the store house, in all of which he made detailed inquiries and ascertained and fixed the daily allowances for the temple. Every day after the 'noon-meal' of the Perumāḷ he laid the daily allowances and other accounts before Him, in private. While he was thus supervising the temple affairs, he found that the treasury and other departments were all at sixes and sevens and he wished to bring these to order. Meanwhile the temple retinue were not prepared to put up with this detailed inquiry and, also as an effect of the bad times, they threw many obstacles in the path of Uḍayavar and even tried to poison him.¹ Consequently he left Srirangam and for two

1. The Prapannāmrtam says that an arcaka of the temple who had stolen a jewel of the God, tried to administer poison to Uḍayavar through alms, fearing detection. The Guruparamparai says that one of the Stānattār being overpowered tried to poison Uḍayavar. A temple servant coerced his wife to serve poisoned food to Uḍayavar while on his usual rounds for begging alms. The honest wife obeyed her husband but cleverly indicated to the begging ascetic the nature of the alms by circumambulating him after having parted with the alms, which was not her usual practice. Uḍayavar suspected something and threw away the poisoned food.

years lived in Tiruveḷḷarai, where he installed Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷa Perumāḷ, constructed a tank and supervised the temple affairs of Pangayachelvi and the religious code. Under the Perumāḷ, the repentent parijanas sent Tiruvarangapperumāḷ Arayar to bring back Uḍayavar. The Arayar, accordingly, brought back the guru, who, once more, took charge of the business of the temple. At that time Akalanga Nattālvān* became the disciple of Uḍayavar, who, finding the former intelligent and capable assigned to him the management of the temple lands. Āṇḍān built a mandapa, decorated with wood-work, on the verandah of the Periya tirumaṇḍapa in the Ālināṇ enclosure—the benefaction of Trivikrama Chola of old—where he fed the Perumāḷ one day with curd and rice and 'nāval' fruits. Later, when Uḍayavar came to the presence of Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷa Perumāḷ, he found the God looking ill. On making inquiries about the food offered to him, he found that the cause of illness was the offering of 'nāval' fruits along with curd and rice. He severely reprimanded Āṇḍān and cured the Perumāḷ with the help of his disciple Garudavāhana Pandita. He renovated the ancient shrine of Danyantri - famous in the puranas - and left it under the management of Garudavāhana Pandita. He laid down that every night, before the temple-doors were closed, medicinal decoction and milk should be taken in procession to the Perumāḷ by Garudavāhana Pandita.

Feeling that the sacred shrine of Tiruvarangam should be governed only by the Pancharātra Āgama as established in the sāstras and not by the Vaikhānasa, he forsook the Vaikhānasa priests. Five 'akāyanas' received initiation at his hands and were given titles as 'mandala nāmam.' They

* Most probably a chola chieftain.

1. A species of plum, jambu fruits.

were, on the authority of the sāstras, called 'Bhagavata Nambimār.' The daily worship was performed by him according to the procedure laid down in the 'Pāramēsvara samhita' of the Pāncharātra. 'The cleanly dressed and pure brahmins,' ('tōdavattittūimāraiyoṛ'), 'Koḍuvāḷeduppār' were entrusted with the lock and key of the store house, etc. The Taḷaiyiḍuvār were entrusted with the Garuda seal - as they belonged to the retinue of the Pakshirāja and as Garuda was the chief of their services. The Āryabhaṭṭāḷ kept watch and Pallavan Viḷupparaiyan the accounts. This arrangement continued. But as 'the signet of the Discus' was badly managed Uḍayavar kept it to himself and left the 'signet of the conch' to the Nambis.

As the accountant had been removed, he having proved himself unfaithful to Ranganatha, Udayavar was thinking of appointing a Vaiṣṇava brahmin as a fresh accountant, but the temple parivārās appealed to the ancient rights and customs. Accordingly Uḍayavar made the Vāḷaḷa Viḷupparaiyan the 'Koīl-kaṇakkan' and gave to Kīranūr Kīḷavan, whom he made his disciple, the names of 'Sāṭṭakōpa cisan' and 'Stala samprati' (temple accountant). The task of offering cocoanūt to the God was being done by Kaikkōḷa Mudali.³ The Mudalis appealed that a brahmin should be appointed in his place.⁴ The Mudali was called and asked, "Which tree contains the tender cocoanut agreeable to Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ?", to which he replied, "Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāḷ knows it." Since he was pure his services were continued. Uḍayavar wanted to expand the

1. Those in charge of the sword of God. 2. Providers of leaves and flowers. Their duties, however, varied. 3. Vaiṣṇava preceptor of the Kaikkōḷa caste. 4. The U.G. Press edition says that Uḍayavar wanted to appoint a brahmin in his place.

A five fold division of the temple parijanas, viz., 'Kovaṇavar,' 'Koḍavar,' 'Koḍuvāḷeduppār,' 'Pāḍuvār,' and 'Taḷaiyiḍuvār,' existing before the time of Tirumangaimannan, into a ten-fold division. At this time the eloquent high priest of our temple, Periya Nambi, of royal dignity, was making mischief in disregard of Uḍayavar. Uḍayavar had the idea of removing him from Tiruvarangam. But the Perumāḷ once, when he was awaiting the procession, appeared to Uḍayavar in his dream as an aged Srivaiṣṇava and said to him, "For a long time past Periya Koīl Nambi has entrusted himself to Our care. You can do as you please." Uḍayavar woke up and calling Ālvān said to him, "The existence of my enemy—Periya Koīl Nambi—here, seems to be agreeable to Perumāḷ. Let us go to Perumāḷ Koīl." Ālvān supplicatingly replied, "The Perumāḷ who told you so, would also make him favourable to you, and seek spiritual guidance at your feet." "If so, you bring him round," said Uḍayavar. Ālvān brought round the learned Periya Koīl Nambi and made him seek Uḍayavar as his guru. Uḍayavar looked at him with kindness and, because of his skill in speech, gave him the name of 'Amudan' and felt pleased. In the month of Aippasi next the mother of Amudan died. Unwilling, as of old, after performing the obsequies for ten days, to invite materialistic people caring only for their bodies for the 'ekāham' Periya Koīl Nambi appealed to Uḍayavar's beneficence. Uḍayavar asked the 'Mudalis' (Vaiṣṇava preceptors) to go

*Tiruvarangattamudanār, the author of Rāmanuja Nāṇḍādī.

1. This five-fold division is even to-day preserved in an unaltered form corrupted as 'Kovaṇavar, koḍavar, koḍuppār, pāḍuvār, taḷaiyiḍuvār'. 2. The 11th day meal, offering to the feeding of brahmins on the 11th day of the funeral obsequies after the death of a person.

but they would not do so. Then he called Ālvān and him, "You go and officiate as the *ākāham* guest." accordingly took the meal. At the time of 'uttara āp' he received the hereditary office of the high priest right to read the puranas in the temple as gifts from Koil Nambi and also the document registering the. These he handed over to (Uḍayavar in) the mutt.

UḌAYAVAR LAYS DOWN THE DUTIES OF THE TEMPLE PARIJANAS

Pleased (with the above) Uḍayavar expanded the of temple parijanas into ten.

1. The *Tiruppatiyār*. This consisted of pilgrims to different sacred shrines, without any special attachment to the Srīrangam temple from days of old, but who had attached themselves to Uḍayavar as their guru. They had their duties divided among themselves. The services of the beginning from *Tiruppārkaḍal* Dāsar and *Tirukkunṇirān* and others down to the local landowners like Koil Nambi and others were fixed.

2. The *Tiruppaṇi-saivār*. This consisted of the descendants of the Koḍavar, *Tiruttāvarai* Dāsar. They were given respectively the names of *Tirukkūrugur* Dāsar, *Nalukavipperumā* Dāsar, *Saṭakōpa* Dāsar, *Tirukkāl* Dāsar and *Rāmānuja* Dāsar, after their gurus. Thus blessed by Uḍayavar, they were assigned their duties in the temple.

3. The *Bhāgavata* Nambis. This group was created and the duties of its members were laid down.

1. The 'āposanam' subsequent to the midday meal (water offered by the host to the guest, after meal and the latter gets up to wash his hands).

4. The *Uḷḷurār* or the *Todavattitūmaraiyār*. This group consisted of the (arcakas attending on) *Periya Perumā* and *Tiruvāranga Maḷigaiyār* (the supplemental procession image), belonging to the class of *Todavattitūmaraiyār*, who were also *Koḍuvāḷeḍuppar*. These were taken as his *siṣyas* and their duties assigned. They were called the *Uḷḷurār*.

5. The *Vinnappam-saivār*. The temple singer *Nāthamuni* Arayar and others were made his disciples and their duties assigned. They were called the *Vinnappam-saivār*.

6. The *Tirukkaragak-kaiyār* (or the holy water-pot carriers). *Tiruvārangavāḷḷālār* and *Tūyamunivāḷam*, among the *siṣyas* of his, he classed together and assigned to them certain duties like bathing the deity, etc.

7. The *Stānattār*. *Senaiśābrahma* Rāyar, *Virasun-ḍābrahma* Rāyar, *Jagannāthabrahma* Rāyar and others, who belonged to the class of *Tajaiyiduvār* were assigned certain duties, so that the names bestowed on them by the lords of old may live for ever. They were designated 'Stānattār.'

8. The *Bhattāḷ-kottu*. This consisted of *Periya Nambi*, the *Tiruppaṇi-saivār*, *Ālvān*, *Govinda Perumā*, *Acchān*, *Tiruvārangattamudanār*, *Piḷḷān*, *Ciriyaḷvān*, and *Nāḍadūr* Annai, who were to recite daily in the sacrum, during the puja hours the following respectively: the *Rig Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, the *Sāma Veda*, the *Atharvaṇa Veda*, the *purāṇas*, the *Itihāsas*, the *Srīranga Mahātmya*, the *Nalāyirapra-bandam*, the *Pūrvottara Mīmāṃsa* sutra, the *Āśvalāyana* *śāstra*, and the *Srī Bhāṣya*.

9. The *Āryabhattāl*. The *Āryabhattāl* were grouped together and assigned various duties.

10. The Dāsanambis. This consisted of the *Perumāl* kadāsas,¹ who were assigned their duties.

Thus the temple servants were classified into ten groups and the rules for their conduct laid down. As the *Sūri* Durantara, of the class of the *Kovaṇavar*, *Uḍayavar* chief of the *Srivaishnavas* of the sacred shrine of *Tiruvāngam*. He caused to amalgamate the permanent servants of the *Garudavāhana* Pandita, like offering the medicinal herbs with those of the group of the *Tiruppatiṇṇar*. This group enjoyed the first place. Hereditarily, the *Kōḷ* group enjoyed the second place. The third place was given to the *Bhāgavata* Nambis appointed by him to help the 'Tōḍa' *rūmaraiyār*,² by handing out to them the articles of worship. In this manner the duties of all the ten groups were fixed.

Having thus divided the temple services among the groups *Uḍayavar* also assigned certain duties to four *ākāṇ* who were outsiders. Eight *Vaiṣṇava* ascetics were appointed to carry the insignia of four gold rods, two silver rods and two rods of cane (bent at the top). Certain permanent duties were assigned to the 'Sittādamudalis',³ who were outsiders. The non-brahmin servants of the temple were also divided into ten groups and their duties fixed. Thus *Uḍayavar* controlling the temple affairs enabling the glory of *Tiruvāngam* to swell unbounded in all lustre.

For a certain *Tiruadyaynōtsava* it was found impossible to fetch the image of *Nammālvār* from *Tirunagari* to *Srirangam*. *Embērumānār* (i.e., *Uḍayavar*) installed in the temple the image of *Nammālvār* and those of *Nāthamuni* and

1. The original providers of flowers to the temple which class belonged *Tōṇḍaraṇḍippōḍi* *Ālvār*. 2. Bachelor servants. 3. Non-brahmin servants (i.e., those who did not wear the sacred thread).

the other *Ālvārs* excepting *Tirumangaimannan*. When these *Ālvārs* were taken in procession on the days of the *Tirumōḷi* and *Tiruvāimōḷi* festivals the *Perumāl* graced them with all paraphernalia of honour like *aruḷappāḍu*, etc. The *Arāyār*, who represented them was also similarly honoured. The 'First *Ālvārs*', whose hymns are included in the 'Iyarpā', were honoured with seats in the *Aḷagiamanavāḷan* *tirumanḍapa* opposite to the sanctum. During the days of the festival of *Ankurārpaṇam*² of the *Perumāl*, the *Srivaishnava* devotees, who were outsiders recited in the streets, in a row, one 'andādi' (a centum) of the *Iyarpā*. Since that row of reciters belonged to the *Ālvārs* assembly of hymnists, *Uḍayavar* willingly assigned certain duties to the *Tiruppaṇi-saivār* in the shrines of the *Ālvārs*. As a proclamation of the victory of his religious creed he required the *Tiruppaṇi-saivār* to carry the umbrella in front of the row of hymnists. The *Ālvārs*, excepting *Andāl*, were bathed and taken in procession, before day-break to the holy presence of the *Perumāl*, on their respective *tirumakshattaras* (natal stars). After worship and after the *Perumāl* and *Sēnai* *Mudaliar* had been offered 'amudu', one *taḷigai*³ (a plate) of *prasādam* was offered to the *Ālvār* and, later, taken to the *Sribhāṇḍāra* (i.e., the treasury, for sale). Then the *Ālvār* was favoured with the 'pitāmbara', the garland and the remnants of the scented paste, which had decked the image of the *Perumāl*, and also other honours like the umbrella, the drum, various *birudas*, etc. Then, taking leave of the *Perumāl*, the *Ālvār* proceeded to the shrine of the *Nācciyār*, where he was blessed likewise. Finally the procession came out into the streets. The *Valḷuṇṇa* teachers, following the procession recited the

1. *Ālvārs* *Pōigai*, *Pei* and *Bhutam*. 2. A preliminary ceremony in which seeds are placed in a vessel for sprouting. 3. Mix measures of rice (raw) cooked constitutes one *taḷigai*.

divyaprabhandas. The Tiruppanisaivār followed the row of hymnists, as the representatives of the temple, receiving betel, etc., offered to the row of reciters, clearing the way for them and carrying the umbrella of victory. After the Ālvār was taken back into his shrine, the Tiruppani-saivār distributed presents to the Arayar, the Sāttadamudalis, who bore the image on their shoulders, and the Vaiṣṇava teachers. Tirtham, sandal paste and betel were distributed among the hymnists who formed the row. The ten groups of temple servants also received presents along with the Vaiṣṇava teachers. After the close of the recital, all the devotees were fed. On the day of Āṇḍāl's tirunakshattar the Perumāḷ himself sent a plate of 'amudu' to Her, with the Todavattitūmaraiyār, at the time of his own meal. Āṇḍāl received it with grace. Uḍayavar arranged for other paraphernalia for Āṇḍāl as in the shrines of other Ālvārs. According to the code of Emberumānār, the Arayar representing the Ālvār recited, in the presence of the Perumāḷ, the sacred prabandas of the Ālvārs. In the shrine like that of the Nācciyār the Arayar recited a single verse while the Srivaiṣṇavas continued the rest in chorus. The Arayar again joined to close in tune. From the days of Nāthamuni down to those of Uḍayavar the Iyarpā was recited only by the Arayar. As on a certain occasion Periya Koil Nambi resigned his office of the high priest, his right to read out the puranas, and his vehicle in favour of Ālvān, he remained secluded from all the affairs of the temple. From that time Ālvān joined the Bhattāl-kottu and assumed the office of the high priest. In the morning of the festival day of Uttānavādasi, the Perumāḷ used to appoint Periya Koil Nambi to read out to him the Kaisika Purana, the events of which happened in Tirukkurungudi (in the Tinnevely district) in bygone days. The Perumāḷ used to present His vehicle (Brahmarata), in which He would

go out in procession along the streets at the close of the festival according to the rules of the Pancharātra, to the pauranika—Periya Koil Nambi. Now the entry of the Perumāḷ into the temple, the reading of the Kaisika purana and the Brahmarata honour came to be done for and in the name of Ālvān. Seeing this Uḍayavar said to himself "The learned Tiruvarangattamudanār should not remain idle like this." Then, he proceeded to the house of Pillai Tiruvarangapperumāḷ Arayar and made a request for a copy of the sacred Iyarpā. Obtaining it, he said to him, "You need not recite the Iyarpā in the Holy Presence, from this day." Calling upon Amudanār, he read out to him a verse from the Iyarpā and placing that sacred book in front of the Perumāḷ, he obtained the divine command that Amudanār should recite the Iyarpā Thousand and that all the honours due that day to the Arayar were to be done to him. Amudanār recited the Iyarpā, as the representative of the Ālvār, received the presents like the Arayar and went home. In other shrines like that of the Nācciyār, too, Amudanār began the recitations of the Iyarpā and was followed by the Srivaiṣṇavas. The Isai (the verses rendered to tune) was recited by the Arayar and the Iyal (the verses rendered without tune) by the Srivaiṣṇavas. In the presence of Periya Perumāḷ the Iyarpā was recited by Amudanār. At other shrines Amudanār began and the Srivaiṣṇavas continued. Since the recitation of the prabandas was to be by the Ālvār's assembly of hymnists, during the procession in the streets, the Srivaiṣṇavas represented them there. The Arayar represented the Ālvār for the recitation of the Three Thousand. The Srivaiṣṇavas were co-reciters with the Arayar. Amudanār represented the Ālvārs for the recitation of the Iyarpā within the temple. At the Nācciyār shrine the Srivaiṣṇavas were co-reciters with Amudanār as with the Arayar elsewhere. As the Srivaiṣṇavas representing the

Ālvārs appointed the Tirupāṇi-saivār to represent the shrine while the row of hymnists was proceeding, the self-same servants were also entrusted with the duty of distributing prasādam, cakes, etc. On this account there was no such distribution in front of the shrines of the Ālvārs. Only the Vaiṣṇava devotees were fed there.

A few days after Uḍayavar had made these arrangements Tiruvarangattamudanār gave out a Nūrrandādi (a centum) in the 'Kalittuḡai' (Kali metre) on Emberumānār equalling in number the gayatri japa. In the festival comprising procession through all the seven enclosures (i.e., the last day of the Brahmotsava) the Perumāḷ asked Uḍayavar not to go along with Him, and stopping all music in the streets heard the Nūggandādi recited by the Srivaiṣṇavas and felt much pleased. When the procession approached the gateway of the mutt, Emberumānār came out and worshipped the Perumāḷ. From that occasion it is customary to stop the procession near the mutt (of Emberumānār) and conduct puja. Thenceforward under the command of the Perumāḷ the recitation of the Iyarpā in the sanctum was followed by that of the Nūggandādi. In the same manner Amudanār began the Iyarpā as the chief singer and the Srivaiṣṇava continued and finished in the shrines of the Nācciyār Andāl and Ālvār. According to the wish of Uḍayavar Amudanār came to be honoured with presents, etc., just like the Arayar, at the commencement of the recitation. Like the Kaṇṇinunciruttāmbu in the Mudalāyiram, Uḍayavar-Nūggandādi, combined with the Iyarpā, was to be daily recited by the Srivaiṣṇavas as the 'prapanna' (so gayatri. For Amudanār and the servants a mutt was established and the presents to be given to the Vaiṣṇava teachers living in private houses were also fixed by Uḍayavar. Thus did Uḍayavar fix the various offices of ten servants and their respective duties, installed the image

the Ālvārs, made arrangements for the conduct of festivals on the days of their respective natal stars and other celebrations according to the Pancharātra, conducted in detail the puja, the daily, the fortnightly, the monthly and the annual festivals and mahotsavas, and attended to the repairs and renewals of the temple buildings. For the use of the daily puja and other ceremonies he built a cow-shed in the northern corner of the 'Māda-māḷḡai-sūḷ-tiruvidi,' and stationed a few cows therein. The rest of the cattle were in the region of Sōḷanganallūr, on the northern bank, where five villages were cleared and converted into a fit habitation for the cows like the Brindāvan and wherein 'Āniraikāṭṭa Perumāḷ' (The Perumāḷ, who guarded the herd of cows—Kṛishna) was installed. Since he could not leave his classes and discourses and go over there often to look after the cows, an image of Periya Perumāḷ was installed there, as in Tiruvannam and a few Vaiṣṇava nambis from the temple were asked to conduct worship at a time when Akalanga Nāṭṭāḷ was inquiring into the taxes of the temple lands.

While thus faultlessly controlling the temple affairs of Tiruvirangāsana, Uḍayavar learned the import of all the śāstras under the guidance of five ācāryas like Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Nambi and others and obtained many śiṣyas. He wanted to start on a tour of victory choosing Ājvān as his companion and appointing Āṇḍān as the superintendent of the temple affairs. With that resolution he prayed to God to prevent the mace of authority to Āṇḍān. With great delight the Perumāḷ said: "Let your servant Dāsaratī (Mudaliyāṇḍān) control Our household. You bring together all Our shrines under one code, destroy the weeds in Our domain and proclaim in all the four directions that the presence of Emberumānār is the most supreme." Thus bidding farewell the Perumāḷ gave Uḍayavar many presents of honour and invested Mudaliyāṇḍān with the mace of autho-